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AN APPEAL TO THE RECORD

BEING

Quotations from Historical Documents and the Kansas Territorial Press, Refuting "False Claims" and other things written for and at the instance of Charles Robinson by G. W. Brown.

AND

Some portions of the Public Records of Charles Robinson and G. W. Brown, taken from the Archives of the State Historical Society.

ALSO

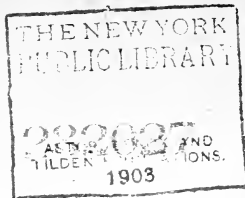
Many Authorities and Documents relating to The New England Emigrant Aid Company, and its Transactions in Kansas.

By WILLIAM ELSEY CONNELLEY,

Author of "John Brown," "James H. Lane," "Memoir of John J. Ingalls,"
Etc., etc.

TOPEKA, KANSAS.
PUBLISHED BY THE AUTHOR.
1903.

FOR A; L HAS



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TOPEKA, KANSAS.
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1903.

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STATEMENT.

In the year 1900 I wrote a *Life of John Brown*. It was published by Crane & Company, Topeka. It was recognized by reviewers and writers everywhere as a work of high order, written on true historical lines, one which sought to elevate the writing of Kansas history from the degradation of mere personal abuse of individuals to which it had been trampled by Thayer, Robinson, and, at the instigation of the latter, G. W. Brown. The Robinson influence was not satisfied with my book. G. W. Brown had defamed Kansas history and those who strove against the border ruffians on our fair prairies to uplift humanity and erect here a great State dedicated to human liberty. When my book appeared, there was deep silence at Lawrence, but recourse was had to this man Brown: he was instigated to again attack with malice those who fought back the ruffians from our borders and raised Kansas to the stars through difficulties. The result is a volume of 158 pages, entitled "False Claims," by G. W. Brown, in which I am called a liar some hundreds of times "in argument." Each member of the Legislature has been presented with a copy by one who shall remain nameless by me, and the donor has been thanked for the act of generosity. The design which prompted the gift was not a generous one. It had for its object the distribution of a work prepared by an histori-

cal Iago who seeks to pollute the fair fountain from which the pure current of Kansas history runs, and make it a foul cistern for toads to knot and gender in.

The question sought to be injected into Kansas history by the book and the influence which instigated it is: Shall a man, otherwise entitled to mention, be denied credit for meritorious action because his private life was not holy? This is the rule insisted upon by the Pharisaical action of Robinson, Thayer, and G. W. Brown, in reference to James H. Lane, John Brown, William Lloyd Garrison, T. Dwight Thacher, William A. Phillips, Richard J. Hinton, John Speer, Theodore Parker, Wendell Phillips, and hundreds more who fought, talked, and wrote for the cause of liberty in Kansas. They are denounced as the lowest types of human depravity by these self-constituted holy men. Kansas had no truer friend than Horace Greeley in her struggles of Territorial times, but he and President Lincoln are abused and vilified as are the others. The cause for all this ruffianly treatment is that the parties did not agree with Robinson and Thayer in their course in Kansas in Territorial days.

In 1879 there was held a meeting of old settlers at Bismarck Grove, near Lawrence. Robinson and G. W. Brown attended, and quarreled openly and vulgarly. They were of the same nature and envious disposition, however, and left the meeting deeply chagrined. They had "heard repeatedly, during the two days the convention was in session, the principal character in these pages [John Brown] lauded as the person of all others, to whom Kansas is indebted for her rescue from slavery, and learned that a monument had been erected to his memory, at Osawatimie, and that it was proposed to send a statue of him

to Washington to adorn the National Capitol, and perpetuate his renown." This was more than they could bear, and in their jealous envy and malice, conspired to begin a systematic course of blackening the characters of those from whom Robinson had dissented in his erratic career in Kansas.

The evidence of this conspiracy is contained in the preliminary statements of the first book which resulted, *The Reminiscences of Old John Brown*, by G. W. Brown, in the writings of Thayer, Robinson, and Brown, and the subsequent admissions of Brown. These preliminary statements are made up of letters which passed between Robinson and Brown. Robinson wrote an open letter to Brown and published it in the *Lawrence Journal*; it was dated September 22, 1879, and recites that the writer had heard the praises for Lane. He pretends great solicitude for the places Lane and John Brown should be accorded by history-writers, and requests G. W. Brown to take up his pen and settle the matter. No reference is made to any private arrangement entered into while Brown was at Lawrence; and he expresses the proper amount of surprise that the letter was written. He replied October 10, and agreed to write a series of "facts, as seen from my own standpoint." This forecast of their nature was strictly maintained; very little regard was shown for facts that actually occurred. Robinson wrote a book, and dedicated it to Eli Thayer; Thayer wrote a book, and dedicated it to Charles Robinson. They regarded it as unnecessary to dedicate any books to Brown; his remuneration must have been of a different nature, and we advise the reader to study what the Territorial press insists is his strongest characteristic before deciding the quality of it.

The books of the trio are all cast on the same lines. All who

differed from the respective authors in Territorial and Civil War times are promptly set down as traitors, whether they lived in Kansas or elsewhere. The salvation of Kansas was claimed by each as the result of his efforts aided by the other two. Egotism and self-righteousness are the strongest features of the books, after the abuse of contemporaries who did not agree with them. Private and public holiness is insisted upon as a prerequisite to receiving credit for anything done for Kansas during the times described. All improper actions of the men who fought while the writers sulked or skulked were paraded, magnified, multiplied, misrepresented, set in a column, conned by rote, flung in the teeth of the people, and a verdict rendered that these particular characters, being impure, or at least not holy like the authors, must be denounced as depraved and consigned to oblivion. This rule was made to apply, so far as it was possible, to anyone having a word to say in favor of the condemned men or any deeds they or any of them did for Kansas or humanity. G. W. Brown was but a tool from the first. He deals in epithets. He is irascible and intolerant. No difference of opinion from the "facts, as seen from my standpoint" can be permitted by him. His stock argument is, "You are a liar!" This he calls correcting history. Under the proper heading will be found the record he made for himself in Kansas, as I have taken it from the press of that day. It is not made up of "facts, as seen from my standpoint," but of facts recorded by honest men who were on the ground and knew him as he was.

In condemning the course of these history-writers for their claims of self-righteousness and their Pharisaical denunciation of wrong in other men, I do not want to be misunderstood.

I believe a man should be correct in his conduct in both private and public life. I do not justify any man who claims a name in Kansas history in any wrong he may have committed, here or elsewhere. In my writings I have not claimed perfection for any public man, but have admitted faults where they exist. I have said no man is always right. What I condemn is the hypocrisy and false position of Thayer, Robinson, and G. W. Brown. But theirs was a bold stroke, one made necessary by conditions. They could observe little inclination in the people of Kansas who knew them in their day to make heroes of them. They had not heard, at the Old Settlers' meeting, any mention of a monument either erected or proposed to any of them, and so far as they could discern, there was little disposition to send a statue of either of them to Washington or elsewhere to adorn anything. As nothing was tendered them, they determined to pose as hero-martyrs, blacken all actions not their own and all men but themselves, and prevent a statue of anyone being sent to Washington. Being rejected by their own generation, they resolved to appeal in the manner and by the methods described herein to a later one, believing the lapse of years had concealed their true records to that degree that the new ones they professed might be accepted as genuine. Hence, in their later writings the Emigrant Aid Company was changed from a trust for speculation to a benevolent institution, with free Kansas as its only object. It was not supposed that a large sum unaccounted for (\$80,000, some say) would ever be inquired about, and it was believed that their jobbing in its stock would not be discovered. Robinson's general corruption in office and the bond swindles of his administration as "War" Governor of Kansas he hoped to explain as deeds for the preservation of the

Union; the women with whom he had sported along the way he believed he had satisfied and concealed. The scandals in the social life of G. W. Brown at Lawrence, and his actions towards the Free-State party, characterized by Senator Ingalls as the act of a Judas Iscariot, he believed buried by long residence in another State. It is strange that such a course could have been adopted by these men towards those who fought and suffered privations, death and indignities for the cause of freedom in Kansas. What is more strange is the fact that they themselves were most guilty of the actions charged against others as the sum total of criminal depravity. On receipt of Brown's book I wrote him:

"Did you ever read of the men who threw no stones at the woman, thou holy man? I believe you and Robinson would have refrained from throwing on an entirely different ground from that set down in Holy Writ, and would have followed the woman home."

In this book Brown suggests a picture having me in the background fulminating lies about him. It is to have every horrible inference and reality an imagination warped to a bloody tendency could conceive. In the letter alluded to above I suggested a statue something like the following:

Thayer with a bag of money labeled, "Emigrant Aid Company, \$80,000." Robinson with a bag of money under one arm and a woman under the other. G. W. Brown, with the woman who wrote the Paola letter under his arm, crowning the other two with brass halos, while his wife, who was cast overboard, weeps in the background in an agony of tears. The legend should be: "Holy men! Holy historians and history-makers — and some money — and some women!"

I have no desire whatever to do these men any injustice. But I have collected herein some part of the public record made by them and written by themselves and their contemporaries. There remain volumes of it not given, open to all who care to look through the precious archives of our Historical Society. I believe the standard set up by these men by which to condemn their fellows to be a false one. I believe their private lives have nothing to do with the history of Kansas, unless public acts can be shown as the result of private course inimical to the interests of the State. If the position taken by them should result in their being hanged on the gallows of their own building, who is to blame? If they did anything here for liberty I believe they should have full credit for it. I am writing an account of the public acts of General James H. Lane; in that work I shall try to deal fairly by every man who fought for what we believe here to have been the right. I did that in my *John Brown*. I would not deprive Thayer or Robinson or G. W. Brown of a syllable of the history of Kansas to which they are justly entitled; and I believe that they should be given *all* they are entitled to. Their books are worthless, or nearly so, because of the faults referred to. And Thayer's book has the further faults of unreliability and pompous egotism; he does not directly claim to have created the soil, prairies, streams, and resources of Kansas: these claims were probably reserved for a second volume. Robinson's book, in addition to other shortcomings, is written in the spirit of bitter malignity always found in the works of a disappointed and repudiated man.

I desire to call attention to still another admission of G. W. Brown, which goes to establish what is alleged as the motive for a conspiracy against Kansas Free-State men who conscien-

tiously differed from the holy trio. On page 29, "False Claims," G. W. Brown says: "Those who knew of these murders [John Brown's killing the five men on the Pottawatomie] . . . did not deem it wise to expose him, and would not have done so at all, if his devotees had not labored to rob deserving men of merited fame."

Is not this a strange admission for a man who claims a place in Kansas history because of the holiness of his private and public life, at the same time denouncing other men who fought for Kansas, because their lives were, as he alleges, incorrect? He admits that he knew the crime of murder had been committed, and that he was willing to conceal it. In law he that conceals a crime is an accessory and guilty of the crime he conceals. In the moral law he is still more guilty. G. W. Brown, page 124, "False Claims," without thought that it could be applied to his own course, quotes the following on this subject: "He who glorifies crime, or connives at its concealment, is guilty of moral perjury, and deserves not only the censure but hatred of every lover of justice." Thus does he define his own status and write his own condemnation. And I desire to call attention particularly to the reason he assigns for exposing this crime of John Brown. He says he "would not have done so at all, if his devotees had not labored to rob deserving men of merited fame."

"Deserving men" must mean Thayer, Robinson, and G. W. Brown, in this instance. Now, the admission takes this form: If John Brown's biographers and the people who saw justice in his work had only said these "deserving men" did it all, and John Brown did nothing, stood for nothing, accomplished nothing, went nowhere, sacrificed nothing, was not honest in his

hatred of slavery and his concern for the poor and lowly, then these "deserving men" would have concealed this crime for all time. That is the proposition as stated by G. W. Brown, not alone in this instance, but in all the preliminaries of his "Reminiscences of Old John Brown"; and as he assumes to speak for the others and is used by them, it must be the agreed and main cause of the exposure. Can human action become more debased than this admission places the actions of these same "deserving men"?

The truth is as follows: John Brown never denied that he was responsible for the killing of the men on the Pottawatomie, but always said if it was murder he was not guiltless. The Report of the Congressional Committee was published in 1856, and everybody in the country knew the facts after that publication; in Kansas it was known on the day following the killing. G. W. Brown gave John Brown great praise in 1857; he published the whole matter in 1859, long before any Life of John Brown was written by anyone. All this hue-and-cry was raised by the "deserving men" years afterward when they heard at the Old Settlers' meeting that it was proposed to place statues of John Brown and James H. Lane in Statuary Hall in Washington. The "deserving men" desired to accomplish two objects in their course,—to prevent the statues of John Brown and James H. Lane from being placed in Statuary Hall, and to turn attention from the management of the Emigrant Aid Company and the bond swindles of the administration of Charles Robinson when he was "War" Governor of Kansas. It should be always borne in mind that these "deserving men" insist that they are entitled to all the glory of making Kansas free no more for what they actually did than for the purity and uprightness

of their public and private lives and the depravity of the lives of John Brown, James H. Lane, and others who were prominent in Territorial times; the writings of each of these "deserving men" are designed to establish that fact.

In my *John Brown* I say that H. H. Williams carried the message from Pottawatomie to the camp of the Free-State men where Brown was at that time. G. W. Brown shows almost conclusively in his "False Claims" that he did not do so. In making the statement I followed recognized authorities and Spring. I am glad to have any error I made pointed out. I have always insisted that if indisputable facts could be produced showing me in error, I would gladly make anything I have written conform to the facts shown; I say the same thing here and now. The only other point Brown supposed he had made against my book is a letter from Frank A. Root denying that he said something he alleges I attribute to him. In that part of this pamphlet referring to G. W. Brown the letter from Root is dealt with.

Many of the extracts quoted in this pamphlet are from the *Kansas Free-State*, one of the very first anti-slavery papers established in Kansas Territory; it was published at Lawrence, and the first number was issued January 3, 1855. It was patriotic and uncompromising, always standing like a stone wall for freedom in Kansas. It was conservative and well balanced. It was broad and comprehensive in its views and policy, and saw from the first that freedom would prevail in Kansas, not from artificial and promoted immigration from New England, but from natural immigration from the States of the Ohio Valley and other Western States. It was calm, dispassionate, independent, and able; and it is the best index of the conditions

existing in Kansas in its day to be found in the archives of the Historical Society. It was destroyed by the border ruffians May 21, 1856, and was not revived. Its destruction was the greatest loss the Territory sustained in that invasion. The editors were Josiah Miller, a South Carolinian, a man of fine mind and liberal education; and R. G. Elliott, one of the ablest journalists Kansas ever had. Mr. Elliott lives yet in Lawrence, and his papers on Territorial times show greater ability and broader comprehension than any others I have found on their respective subjects.

Desiring to quote only from papers of high standing and recognized ability, I have taken a number of extracts from the *Lawrence Republican*. That those who may not be familiar with the early Kansas press may be fully informed of the standing of that paper, I will say that it was edited from the first by T. Dwight Thacher, a man of college training, Puritan ancestry, and correct principles. He was a brilliant writer and orator, and a man to the memory of whom Kansas owes much; he was a pioneer of the sterling sort. In a memorial address, Rev. Dr. Cordley said of him:

“In the spring of 1857, therefore, he started for Kansas. On arriving he commenced the publication of the *Lawrence Republican*. From the very outset he made it one of the leading Free-State papers of the Territory. He was anti-slavery from heredity, education, personal conviction. He based his opposition on radical grounds. He had no apologies to offer, no compromises to make. He believed slavery was wrong, and for that reason should not be permitted to enter Kansas. . . . His presence was like tonic to the Free-State party.

“Mr. Thacher was largely instrumental in forming the Republican party in Kansas. A number of men were in favor of keeping up the old Free-State party, but Mr. Thacher had

the sagacity to see that that was impossible. The members of that party were hopelessly divided on nearly everything except the question of a free State in Kansas. Now that that question was settled there was no point of cohesion. The Republican party was the rising party of freedom in the nation at that time. Mr. Thacher believed in being in line with the larger movements of freedom in the whole country. He was therefore one of the prime movers in calling the convention which met in Osawatomie May 18, 1859, and formed the Republican party in Kansas. He was chosen president of the convention, and had much to do with shaping its utterances. Horace Greeley was at this convention, and took great interest in the result."

Both the papers quoted from were contemporaneous with the *Herald of Freedom*, the organ of the Emigrant Aid Company, edited by G. W. Brown. The editors of each of the papers knew Brown in all his turbulent career in Kansas, and were well qualified to speak of him and his erratic course. They knew Robinson, the "War" Governor, and the record of his administration, also his meanderings politically thereafter. They were competent to judge of the work done by the Emigrant Aid Company, and were always ready and willing to assist that institution in any legitimate work it might have in its indirect efforts to benefit Kansas.

It may be urged that the humane rule, "nothing but good should be said of the dead," might well have been observed in discussing these old quarrels among the Free-State men. It would have been much better had there been no quarrel. Robinson, Thayer and G. W. Brown were the original violators of the humane sentiment above referred to. Brown says in the explanatory portion of his "Reminiscences of Old John Brown" that a gentleman called on him in Rockford the day following the publication of his reply to Robinson, and "requested me

to remember that John Brown and James H. Lane are dead, and that I should be humane in the treatment of these historic characters." Brown says he made the following ruthless and brutal reply: "I am writing facts for history, and . . . I shall not withhold anything because they are dead, that is necessary to a truthful knowledge of their real characters." This matter of duty bore heavily in this valiant Quixote as he went forth to begin the crusade for holiness in the lives of Kansas historic characters. "Is it less my duty, as a historian, to tell the truth because a man is dead?" he cries in his holiest attitude; and with a Pecksniffian countenance raised to heaven he devoutly and conscientiously adds: "Many names have come down as worthy exemplars for our imitation, who, were they living to-day, and practicing the vices and crimes they were hourly perpetrating, we would lose no time in closing the bars of a penitentiary on them, else execute them on the gallows."

Two of these "names," he means us to know, are John Brown and James H. Lane; and it is more than probable, if we are to believe the writings of Robinson and Thayer, that some of the others are Abraham Lincoln, William Lloyd Garrison, Wendell Phillips, Charles Sumner, Gerrit Smith, Theodore Parker, Henry D. Thoreau, Lowell, Whittier, and every other man who ever cried to Heaven for justice to the black man and slave. With rueful and holy countenance this modern Heep regretfully adds as he gravely shakes his seraphic head and looks with sorrow on the tendency to depravity in human nature: "The best of characters had their frailties. These must be known to judge correctly of their worth."

Robinson and Thayer acted upon the principle set down by G. W. Brown. John Brown and James H. Lane left large families. The widow and orphans of Lane lived long in Lawrence

after his death. Was Robinson ever known to be considerate of their feelings? Did he refrain on their account or because Lane was dead and could not reply and speak for himself, from the vilest abuse and most brutal and heartless accusations? He did not. Lane, after his death, was daily accused by Robinson of murder, the violation of innocence, rapine, organized murder in Missouri, robbery, obtaining money by illegal and dishonest methods, intimacy with lewd women, and such depravity in every walk of life and every relation in society as no other man in Kansas was ever charged with; and Robinson ends finally by charging Lane with complicity in the Quantrill massacre,—that he acted, with Senator Plumb, as an escort to Quantrill and his men as they returned to Missouri. Every syllable of the above charge against Robinson can be verified by an examination of his newspaper articles and his book, which I cite now *in toto*. I cite Thayer's *Kansas Crusade* to prove that he was a party to all this. I cite the above books and "The Reminiscences of Old John Brown" by G. W. Brown, to prove that the three of them pursued precisely the same course toward the family of John Brown they did to that of Lane. And it is apparent on their pages that there was no desire to record the truth of history; the main purpose was to make a great place in Kansas history for these crusaders for holiness. That this course continues to this day, the book to which this pamphlet is an answer is proof; and *Kansas; Its Exterior and Interior Life*, has been "revised" and filled with venom toward John Brown. Where there is a word in his favor in Townsley's statement, it is cut out, and the marks to indicate that the quotations are not given entire, are omitted; and in violation of all literary rules, the impression is left that the document is quoted complete so far as given.

CHARLES ROBINSON.

Charles Robinson came to Kansas as the agent of the New England Emigrant Aid Company. His salary, as shown by the books of the company, was \$1000 a year. From the day of his arrival he sought political preferment, and he remained a persistent office-seeker until his death. His chief object appears, however, to have been the accumulation of wealth. In this he was very successful; and if the record he has left can be at all relied upon and is even approximately accurate, he was unscrupulous in this pursuit to a remarkable degree. He was involved in social scandals during the most of his residence in Kansas. The particulars of these scandals reveal a mind hopelessly demoralized on the subject of purity and virtue of woman. The circumstances of his relations to a number of women are well known to the people of Lawrence, and they have related them to me. They are unfit for publication, and can be alluded to in general terms only. The case of a lady now supposed to be living in Cambridge, Mass., is perhaps the most notorious. Judge A. H. Horton, long Chief Justice of the Kansas Supreme Court, has related to several people in Kansas a strange incident which occurred when he was once visiting St. Louis, and the incident concerned Governor Robinson's relations with women.

I have insisted that the private life of a public man has

nothing whatever to do in weighing his public acts, as long as they do not influence or control such public acts. By this rule Governor Robinson's private actions have no relation to his public life, and can be legitimately considered only when we seek an estimate of his character as a man and unit of society, unless origin of public wrong can be shown therein. I believe these the true principles to be observed in every instance by a writer who seeks to make an impartial record for posterity. Governor Robinson violated these principles by attacking in public prints the private characters of public men contemporary with him. He was extremely bitter, vindictive, cruel, harsh, and unreasonable in his attacks, and he persevered in them to his death. The strange feature of the matter is that his most violent animosities toward other public men seemed to result from alleged acts in them of which he was himself also most guilty. Lane was attacked for procuring money by dishonest methods and for his immoral relations with women. Himself the first advocate of violent and armed resistance to the Missourians (having of his own motion ordered the first supply of Sharps rifles from New England), both Lane and Brown were held up to public scorn as robbers and thieves and murderers, devoid of every principle of humanity when they acted upon the theory first announced by him as the line along which Kansas freedom could alone be achieved. True, he afterward gave little support to the principle he inaugurated, and which in the end brought inconceivable woe upon the people, finally proving erroneous, Kansas gaining her freedom through the growth from natural causes of her anti-slavery population. Lane and other conservative men opposed armed resistance, but when it brought on all the horrors of civil war, the task of defending the settlers

of the Territory and saving Kansas from annihilation devolved upon them. For not allowing the Territory to remain in possession of the ruffians and in the thralldom to the slave power resulting from his own policy, projected contrary to the best judgment of the conservative element, they were denounced by him for nearly forty years and long after they were in their graves, as villains worse than savages. He was relentless and implacable in his enmity toward Lane; and his bitterness toward John Brown and his family assumed the form of malice and acrimonious revenge.

As an official he was incapable of formulating a public policy embracing the best interests of the State. His administration as Governor was cast on petty and personal lines, with loot and individual gain as the predominating ideas. Public scandal was rampant, and he was at war with both the policy and the public men of state and nation during his term of office. He retired with the denunciations of his party and execrations of the people, and was ever afterward a political nonentity, though a persistent office-seeker, and in every party and faction in the State, at some time during the remainder of his life.

But notwithstanding all these shortcomings he has connected his name with the State and its history. In the devious and sinuous ways natural to him he added something to the cause which resulted in freedom for Kansas. While this sum was not so great, in my opinion, as that contributed by others, it was considerable. I would not detract a single iota from whatever may be due him for his actions in those days of peril to free institutions in America. As in the case of every public official, he must stand or fall by the public record he made, and not by the flattery of sycophants purchased by his money.

For daring to raise my voice and employ my pen for justice and fair dealing toward one of the objects of his vengeance, and for discussing his public record in courteous and respectable language, the services of an insignificant and turbulent old blackguard are invoked to discredit me as a writer of Kansas history. Such intolerance belongs to the dark ages, and was introduced into Kansas history-writing by Robinson, as G. W. Brown now admits. One would not expect to find it in free and enlightened Kansas at this time. People should know that public men and public measures are legitimate subjects for discussion. If, here in Kansas, all the wealth the State supposed it would get from the Robinson estate for use of the University is to be employed to vilify anyone who dares to criticize the public acts of Robinson and Thayer or differ from them in the estimates they place on themselves and their measures, where is your freedom of speech and press? Has not such malevolent minacity become impertinent insolence and audacious arrogance? I think so. This pamphlet is written primarily to show it never had cause or reason for existence here. The men who fought to establish Kansas were like other men. They, one and all, had their virtues and their faults. It is to be regretted that the faults have been so much emphasized here; but if stress must be placed upon them, let it be done for all the history-makers alike. It ought not to be considered a crime to discuss their public acts and public writings; but the Robinson influence so regards it so far as the discussion of the acts and writings of Thayer and Robinson are concerned. And to say a word in defense of Brown or Lane or any other Free-State man prominent in Territorial days (for Robinson quarreled with almost all of them) is even a greater crime.

The theory upon which Robinson acted, and upon which his successors act, is this: Claim everything for Robinson and Thayer; denounce, vilify, blacken, and defame the other characters of Kansas Territorial times at all prominent; and include President Lincoln, William Lloyd Garrison, Theodore Parker, and any other man opposed to slavery; and do not forget that this rule applies to anyone raising a voice or holding a pen for these men.

Only a small portion of the record of Robinson is given here, taken from the records, books, and public prints of the times, except the extracts from the manuscript of Hon. John Speer, which is of a quasi-public nature, and can be seen in the library of the State Historical Society. The George A. Crawford papers, now in my possession, contain statements very derogatory to Robinson, but I publish none of them at this time.

The abuse heaped upon Robinson by G. W. Brown is given to show the truckling sycophancy of the man. He now writes vile abuse of anyone who dares to criticize in a fair manner the public and official acts of Robinson. The reader must form his own opinion of a man so turbulent, avaricious, unstable, violent, inconsistent, salacious, and obsequious as Brown has shown himself to be.

The conduct of Robinson on the day of the Quantrill massacre at Lawrence must be considered by his future biographers. He understood this, and opened the way for it by his usual method. He wrote an explanatory apology and sought to implicate General Lane and Senator Plumb. In his bitterest way he charges that they escorted Quantrill back to Missouri with due consideration, without firing a gun or injuring a man. This is only defamatory; he knew it was untrue; it is refuted by Major

Edwards, Quantrill's biographer. In this Quantrill matter the record is given without comment. It was the most horrible and shocking thing in the Civil War, and I am collecting information in relation to it from every available source; I shall write a small work on the subject at no distant day. A map of Lawrence was prepared and marked for Quantrill's use; property to be destroyed was designated on that map. A list of those to be slain was made out before Quantrill left Missouri; the location of their residences and their personal descriptions were recorded; the names of the children of Hon. John Speer, and perhaps others, were on the list. The map and list (or a copy of the list) are believed to be yet in existence, in the State of Tennessee; and there is now a possibility that I may secure them for the Historical Society.

I.

HOW ROBINSON MADE MONEY.

"Here is in for Making the Tin"—Robinson's Toast Drank with Hon. James F. Legate.

The following article relating to the bond swindles of Governor Robinson's administration is reprinted (almost entire) from the Lawrence *Daily Journal*, of October 28, 1884. The article is composed principally of extracts from the official record of Robinson's impeachment trial. Robinson was at the time of its publication a candidate for office in Douglas county. The paper was published by Thatcher & Webster.

[From the Lawrence Daily Journal, October 28, 1884.]

OLD STORIES RETOLD — A FEW EVENTS IN THE POLITICAL CAREER OF EX-GOVERNOR CHAS. ROBINSON.

. . . He disclaims belonging to any political party, and says he is a political bushwhacker. Would it not be more appropriate to say a political moral and social bushwhacker? One who, like the Irishman we read of, hits a head whenever he sees it. He has bushwhacked nearly everybody and everything, living and dead, and from the saloon to the pulpit, and even went so far as to applaud and laugh at the rantings of a speaker at the Liberal convention at Ottawa, who denounced Mary, the mother of Christ, as a prostitute, and no better than any other prostitute. Such demonstrations may in the Governor's judgment be very smart and very cunning, but it was certainly not in very good taste for an ex-Governor of the young State of Kansas to make such a spectacle. Before his settlement in Kansas he was a practicing physician of limited practice, and not as abundantly endowed with this world's goods as at present, and came to Kansas as the paid agent of the New England Emigrant Aid Company at a salary of \$1000 per year, and came as hundreds of others did, viz., to make money. To James F. Legate, of Leavenworth, he denied coming for any other purpose, and drank a toast with that gentleman as follows: "Here is in for making the tin." No man in the State amongst the early settlers was as successful as the Governor in that direction, as his present surroundings show.

THE 21ST OF MAY, 1856, RAID CLAIMS.

On the 21st of May, 1856, a pro-slavery sheriff of Douglas county at the head of a pro-slavery mob of five or six hundred persons burnt the Eldridge House and Governor Robinson's residence.

In 1857 the Territorial Legislature appointed one H. J. Strickler to audit the claims for damages for losses occasioned by the border troubles of that time between the Pro-Slavery and Free-State parties. Gov. Robinson appeared before this commissioner and put in the following claim:

COPY FROM THE KANSAS CLAIMS, VOLUME 1, PAGE 108, CASE No. 61.

To the Hon. H. J. Strickler, Commissioner for Auditing Claims under the provisions of An Act to provide for the Auditing of Claims, and the Act supplemental thereto, passed and approved February 23, 1857: Your petitioner, Charles Robinson, of Douglas county, Kansas Territory, respectfully shows that your petitioner as hereinafter stated was engaged as an agent in said county; that on the 21st day of May, A. D. 1856, your petitioner, then living in said county; that on the day and year above mentioned there was

taken from the possession of your petitioner, by some men who were said to belong to the Territorial militia and marshal's posse, whose names are entirely unknown to your petitioner, the following, which is fully set forth in a schedule hereto annexed, and valued at fifteen thousand and eight hundred dollars; and your petitioner further states that he has not received any pay from any person or persons for the same. Your petitioner therefore prays that he may receive the sum of fifteen thousand eight hundred dollars for the loss which he has sustained, as is set forth in the foregoing petition. and that the same may be paid therefor pursuant to the statutes made and provided in such cases. And for such further relief as your petitioner is entitled to in the premises.

C. ROBINSON.

Subscribed and sworn to before me, D. H. Weir, a notary public, on this 17th day of November, A. D. 1857.

[L. S.]

D. H. WEIR, *Notary Public.*

SCHEDULE.

One frame house.....	\$3,500
Barn, hay, stable, and furniture.....	1,500
House furniture.....	3,000
Library.....	3,000
Medical library and surgical instruments.....	1,500
Clothing, jewelry, and private papers.....	3,000
Furniture in hotel and used by Congressional Committee.....	600
One Porter's rifle.....	40
Two Sharps' rifles.....	70
Two Colt's revolvers.....	40
One horse stolen.....	150
Two horses poisoned.....	400
	<hr/>
	\$15,800
False imprisonment four months.....	\$10,000

If that schedule, made and sworn to by that honest old Governor, does not produce a smile on his countenance, it will produce one on the face of every old settler who can bring before his mind's eye that little frame house that stood on the hillside, in size about 14 x 20 feet, 10-foot studding, made of native lumber, and cost about \$400, and especially the clothing and jewelry items, when we consider how much of a dude the Governor is. Then the furniture bill, \$3600; \$3000 in his house and \$600 loaned out to Col. Eldridge to enable him to accommodate at the Eldridge House the investigation committee of three.

Another party swore that they had loaned \$500 worth of furniture to accommodate this committee of three. The Governor also swears before that same committee, on behalf of Col. Eldridge, that the Eldridge House was furnished better than any hotel in St. Louis, and his furniture was worth at least \$14,212. One would ask, did that committee need all that furniture, or did some one lie? Then his item of barn, hay, etc., \$1500. Aside from the Eldridge House barn and the stage barn, it is a question if all the barns in the county, at that time, cost the half of \$1500; \$100 would have been a big price for the barn. At the present time the Governor lives in one of the

finest houses in the county, which must have cost seven or eight thousand dollars, and is furnished accordingly; yet, in his tax list for last year, he lists his household furniture at \$50. Quite a difference. It looks as if the Governor schedules his property to suit the occasion. To appreciate the furniture oath, it is only necessary for the reader to have some idea of the way our houses were furnished at that time. Except the Eldridge House and the National Hotel at Leocompton, it is a question if there was \$3600 worth of household furniture in the county.

If the above does not entitle the Governor to the belt as the champion truth-teller of Kansas, then there is no use in having a champion's belt; yet he is very free in applying the word liar to that immortal old martyr, John Brown, when discussing the old hero's record. To illustrate the elegance of our household furniture in those days, we will quote some extracts from Horace Greeley's correspondence to the *New York Tribune*, who three years later than this time made an overland trip to California. In May, 1859, Mr. Greeley writes from Leavenworth as follows: "The twin curses of Kansas, now that the border ruffians have stopped ravaging her, are land speculators and one-horse politicians." The latter, he says, "gravitate irresistibly toward the sham Democracy, in whose embrace the whole tribe will bring up sooner or later." (He proved to be quite a prophet so far as the Governor is concerned.)

In an overland letter written from the plains, Mr. Greeley said:

"I believe I have now descended the ladder of artificial life nearly to its lowest round. . . . The progress I have made during the last fortnight towards the primature of human existence may be roughly noted thus: May 12, Chicago, chocolate and morning newspapers last seen on the breakfast-table; 23d, Leavenworth, room-bells and baths make their last appearance; 24th, Topeka, beefsteak and washbowls (other than tin) last visible—barber, ditto; 26th, Manhattan, potatoes and eggs last recognized among the blessings that brighten as they take their flight; Junction City, last visitation of a bootblack, with dissolving views of a broad bedroom—chairs bid us good-by; 28th, Pipe Creek, benches for seats at meals have disappeared, giving place to bags and boxes. We write our letters in the express wagon that has borne us all day and must supply us lodgings for the night."

If the above is a specimen of Kansas household furniture in 1859, the reader can imagine what it was in 1856, the time of which the Governor swore.

In the spring of 1859 a new commission to audit these same claims was appointed, consisting of Samuel A. Kingman, Edward Hoogland, H. J. Adams, before whom our sturdy old Governor appeared, having seen how easy it was to swear in imaginary claims and have them allowed, concluded

to try his hand at it again, and put in the following bill, and did not hesitate to swear to its truthfulness:

SCHEDULE.

A manuscript history of California.....	\$3,500
A manuscript work on anatomy and physiology, ready for the press.....	2,500
A series of popular lectures on the above subjects.....	<u>1,000</u>
	\$7,000

The commissioners awarded him as follows:

Strickler's award confirmed.....	\$15,800
Interest on same.....	2,370
Three manuscript works.....	5,029
Interest on same.....	<u>754</u>
	\$23,953

He had already put on file a bill for \$3000 for clothing, jewelry, and private papers. In what way had these papers increased in value since 1857, if they were not included in the original bill? Why not, if they had any value?

If the value of that manuscript of California history and medical lecture is to be estimated by the value of the trash the Governor publishes in the *Lawrence Herald*, its value would be one-fourth of a cent per pound for waste paper. If a man could buy the Governor's manuscript and his reputation for truthfulness and integrity at what they are really worth and sell them at the Governor's valuation, the transaction would leave the investor a richer man than Jay Gould or Vanderbilt. The commissioners awarded the Governor an additional \$7253, and for which they gave him a certificate, which he gave to the Territorial Auditor in exchange for warrants, and by a kind of persuasion peculiar to the Governor, the Territorial Treasurer was induced to give Territorial bonds in exchange for his warrants, which he had no right to do. (For which act the Governor afterwards rewarded him by giving him a commission as colonel of the Second Kansas Regiment.) These Territorial bonds that had been voted were to pay the current expenses of the Territorial Government, and not to pay these award certificates, as it was understood that the Territory only assumed the indebtedness as a matter of form, with the expectation that they would be paid by the General Government when we were admitted as a State. No man in the Territory knew this fact better than Governor Robinson, when he gathered in those bonds to the amount of \$24,000. This questionable transaction was evidently a collusion of the parties connected to rob the Territory of its bonds under the color of law. But the color was so thin that none but the parties in collusion could see it.

The county and Territorial conventions of both parties denounced by resolution the actors therein. The Territorial Legislature denounced the

transaction, and by act refused to make the Territory responsible for this debt. The first State Legislature, in 1861, took similar action. The Republican State Convention held at Lawrence, April 11, 1860, to elect delegates to the National Convention to be held at Chicago passed the following resolutions:

Whereas, The executive officers of this Territory have issued a large amount of bonds and warrants, purporting to be based upon certain claims for losses during the war and troubles in Kansas, and in satisfaction of said claims: therefore,

Resolved, That we believe said bonds and warrants were issued without authority of law, and that the issue thereof involves a gross act of infidelity on the part of public officers to the people of the Territory and a fraud upon the public.

Resolved, That while we recognize the validity of the claims aforesaid as against the General Government, so far as they have been or may be established by authority of law, we denounce as unjust and absurd any attempt that has been made to collect the first dime of the amount from the people of the Territory.

These resolutions were published in the newspapers from one end of the country to the other, which rendered these bonds valueless. Some of them had been sold, and the parties buying them had to suffer the loss of all they had invested in them. H. S. Walsh, the Pro-Slavery Territorial Secretary, to his everlasting honor refused to sign these stolen bonds. He said he would sooner suffer his right arm to be cut from his body—which shows that we had one honest man in the Territorial Government, and that one a pronounced Pro-Slavery man. These bonds were sold in New York, and the manner in which they were sold is a standing monument of infamy to all the parties concerned, which ought to have consigned them to the penitentiary. They deposited the bonds in New York, where they were made payable, and without a dollar's appropriation to pay them with. They employed an agent to pay the first coupons with their own money, under the pretext that he was acting for the Territory, and then had it announced on the Stock Exchange that young Kansas had promptly, to a day, paid her first interest on all her bonds, and then took back from the broker their own money and destroyed the coupons. By this dishonest transaction, the stock brokers to whom Gov. Robinson sold his fraudulent bonds (the Thompson Bros., publishers of *Thompson's Bank Note Detector*, doing business at No. 2 Wall street) were induced to invest in these bonds. Thaddeus H. Walker, who had introduced Gov. Robinson to the Thompson Bros., was for a long time suspected as a party to this transaction, and suffered without cause from this outrage,—he not suspecting that Gov. Robinson would sell

Kansas bonds that had been fraudulently obtained, were illegal, and would never be paid.

Query: Does not this transaction account for the Governor's 2160-acre farm being in the name of Martha Robinson?

ROBINSON IN THE LEGISLATURE.

Since this time, Governor Robinson has been in the State Senate and House on different occasions, and each time he has been there he has endeavored to have a bill passed by the Legislature (but always covered up by other matters), to legalize and make provision for the payment of these fraudulent bonds, and on one occasion came very near doing so; but the Hon. Elijah Sells, member in the Legislature from the Palmyra district, saw the little joker and exposed the transaction, thus causing its defeat. From that time to the present we have not had a Governor that would sign such a bill, if passed. It was a more barefaced and infamous steal than the Galveston Railroad bond steal.

THIEVES AND SWINDLERS ROB THE STATE TO THE AMOUNT OF \$50,000.

Governor Robinson impeached by a unanimous vote of the lower house, but gets off with the Scotch verdict of not proven, by the Senate.—The Secretary of State and Auditor unceremoniously kicked out of office, one of whom dies of a broken heart; one lost to fame; one starts a whisky-shop in Chicago; the boss rogue lives on a 2160-acre farm on the banks of the Kaw, and Kansas gets the name of "the rotten commonwealth."

January 29, 1861, the Territory was admitted into the Federal Union as a State, and the first Legislature voted a series of bonds, and appointed a committee consisting of Chas. Robinson, Governor, John W. Robinson, Secretary of State, and Geo. S. Hillyer, Auditor, to negotiate their sale.

This forms another chapter of the many crooked transactions in which the Governor's good name has been mixed.

The full history of this new bond steal is set forth in a

REPORT

Of the special committee appointed by the House of Representatives to investigate the accounts of the Auditor and Treasurer of State, the sale of bonds of the State of Kansas, etc., etc., January 30, 1862.

The special committee, to whom was committed the duty of investigating the sale of Kansas State bonds, and the accounts of the State Auditor and Treasurer, beg leave to submit the following report:

On Thursday, the 30th day of January, 1862, the House of Representa-

tives adopted the following preamble and resolution, from which your committee derive their authority, to wit:

"Whereas, It appears from the reports of the Auditor and Treasurer of State that a certain amount of the bonds of the State has been disposed of; and

"Whereas, Said reports do not fully set forth a detailed statement of the facts in relation thereto: therefore,

"Resolved, That a special committee of five be appointed by the chair to examine and investigate the accounts of the Auditor and Treasurer of State, and to ascertain all the facts connected with the sale of bonds of the State of Kansas, the disposition of the proceeds thereof; what amount of scrip has been issued; what amount redeemed, and what amount has been bonded; what amount of bonds are remaining on hand and unsold; and whether or not State officers have been speculating in the indebtedness of the State of Kansas,—with full power and authority to send for persons and papers, and with instructions to report at an early day."

Before proceeding to call testimony touching the subject-matter of investigation, it was deemed best to make a careful examination of the different statutes of the State in relation thereto. They find that an act was passed by the last Legislature and approved May 3, 1861, authorizing certain persons, to wit, Austin M. Clark and James C. Stone, to negotiate the sale of one hundred and fifty thousand dollars of the bonds of the State, and report to the Legislature, within seventy days, their acts in the premises. By reference to the journals of the last session, and on page 382, it will be seen that they did report that any attempt at that time to negotiate the sale of Kansas bonds would be utterly useless and unavailing.

After receiving the report of said commissioners, an act was passed by the Legislature and approved June 7, 1861, supplementary to the first-named act, authorizing the sale of one hundred thousand dollars of the bonds of the State for not less than seventy cents on the dollar. This act gives authority to the Governor, Secretary of State and Auditor to negotiate the sale of these bonds, a majority of whom can act. This law provides that the Treasurer shall prepare bonds to the amount of one hundred thousand dollars, with coupons attached, bearing interest at the rate of 7 per cent. per annum, and to be made payable in fifteen years, the interest to be paid semi-annually. Another act was passed by said Legislature, which was approved June 7, 1861, providing for the issuance of twenty thousand dollars of the bonds of the State, bearing 10 per cent. interest, and made payable in two years.

These are the only acts that your committee have been able to find, bearing upon the matter of the sale of Kansas State bonds.

With regard to bonds issued by the State during the year 1861, under the acts referred to, your committee would state that the total issue of bonds of every description amounted to \$189,400. Of these, \$40,000 were 10 per cent. bonds, issued under the act of May, '61, and known as war bonds; \$31,000 of these 10 per cent. bonds have been sold by the Treasurer to R. S. Stevens for forty cents on the dollar; the balance are in the Treasurer's

hands. It appears on evidence before us that a large portion of these bonds (\$26,000) was sold by Mr. Stevens to the Interior Department at Washington for 92 cents on the dollar. Of the 7 per cent. bonds, \$62,200 were used in taking up State scrip, and \$87,200 were delivered to R. S. Stevens, for which 60 cents on the dollar was to be accounted for by him to the State. It appears from evidence before us that these bonds were sold to the Interior Department at Washington for 85 cents on the dollar. The evidence before your committee regarding the sale of bonds is quite lengthy, and will be placed before your body in printed form.

The conclusions arrived at by your committee are such as to warrant them in the belief that this House will take decisive measures; and deeming a fair and full examination of all the evidence proper in the premises, would commend it to the attention of the House.

Of the \$40,000 issued under the act of May 7th, your committee are clearly of the opinion that \$20,000 are illegal, and the House should take some action regarding them.

Your committee also are clearly of the opinion that the Treasurer had no authority to sell any of the 10 per cent. bonds at less than par, and is liable to the State for the face of all 10-per cent. bonds sold, and of which \$12,400 have been paid into the treasury, leaving a deficiency on bonds sold, to be accounted for, of \$18,600.

Of the 7 per cent. bonds sold, your committee would call attention to the fact that they are sold by Mr. Stevens as State agent, he deriving his authority from the State officers authorized by law to sell these bonds. It appears on evidence, that he was authorized by them to have all he could realize over sixty cents on the dollar. Your committee are of the opinion that the State officers are not authorized by law to make any such agreement, and believe Mr. Stevens liable to the State for all bonds sold by him, *for the full amount for which he negotiated the bonds, viz., 85 cents on the dollar.* An unlawful act cannot be rendered lawful by any sanction given it by State officers, in the opinion of your committee.

We would further state, that from the evidence before us, it appears that the \$87,200 of 7 per cent. bonds were not negotiated with the Interior Department UNTIL AFTER THE SEMI-ANNUAL INTEREST HAD MATURED, the bonds having been issued on July 1st, 1861, and negotiated on or about January 1st, 1862. This interest, amounting to \$3052, it appears upon evidence, has been paid to R. S. Stevens, and thus the State has realized on bonds sold, but 56½ cents on the dollar. Your committee are of the opinion that this interest properly belongs to the State.

We would further state, that of the \$87,200 of bonds placed in the hands of R. S. Stevens, it appears upon evidence that he has accounted to the State for \$56,200 at 60 cents on the dollar, by the payment into the treasury of \$33,720, the balance of the bonds (\$31,000) being negotiated but not paid for by the Interior Department at Washington. Your committee would recommend that an act be at once created appointing an agent to go to Washington to take charge of this property, with full power to transact all further business necessary in the matter on behalf of the State.

Your committee call special attention to the extracts from letters, and the receipts, copies of contract, and appointment, accompanying the evidence.

In reference to the State Treasurer, the committee ask time to take further testimony, which, in their opinion, is necessary to a proper disposal of the case. From the evidence which your committee submit with this report, they are of the opinion that there has been a collusion of Charles Robinson, George S. Hillyer, and John W. Robinson, with R. S. Stevens, to defraud the State of Kansas of a large sum of money.

Your committee therefore unanimously report the following resolution, and recommend its adoption, as a measure demanded by public justice, and a proper regard for the rights of the people of Kansas:

"Resolved, That Charles Robinson, Governor, John W. Robinson, Secretary of State, and George S. Hillyer, Auditor of the State of Kansas, be and they are hereby impeached of high misdemeanors in office."

MARTIN ANDERSON, *Chairman.*

H. L. JONES.

B. W. HARTLEY.

THOMAS CARNEY.

SIDNEY CLARKE.

The reader will take notice that \$31,000 of the 10 per cent. bonds were sold by the Treasurer to Mr. Stevens for 40 cents on the dollar, and that he had no authority to sell them at less than par. We notice that he sold \$11,000 more than the Legislature voted. To fully appreciate the true inwardness of this transaction, it will be necessary to state that a Mr. Tholen, of Leavenworth, an honest, straightforward man, who could not be used by Gov. Robinson or any other man, had been elected State Treasurer, but he could not make his official bond good enough or strong enough to suit Gov. Robinson, whose duty it was to approve it, notwithstanding he had upon it some of the best and wealthiest men in Leavenworth. In disgust he resigned his office and went into the army, and to fill his place Gov. Robinson appointed H. R. Dutton, a more supple tool, and one who could be used.

Gen. Collamore and W. F. M. Army testified that they told Gov. Robinson that they could and would negotiate the war bonds at par. It is evident from the evidence of both these men that the Governor did not have any notion of giving them an opportunity.

EVIDENCE.

Geo. S. Hillyer testified that R. S. Stevens was appointed State agent to sell Kansas State bonds by the GOVERNOR, Secretary of State, and himself. . . . The agreement was that he should take the bonds, and, when sold, account to the State for 60 cents on the dollar. The bonds were delivered to him as he sold them — he gave no security for them.

Q. Did you know when you made the agreement with Mr. S. what he was going to do with the bonds?

A. I supposed he was going to negotiate them with the Interior Depart-

ment. There was no agreement that if they should be sold for more than 60 cents the State should receive the amount over 60 cents. . . . The Governor gave to the Secretary verbal authority to sign his name to any paper that might be necessary in effecting the negotiations. . . . The cost to the State, besides the per cent. to Stevens, was about three hundred and fifty dollars — expenses of Secretary and myself to and from Washington.

Q. Do you know whether Mr. Stevens had any partner in the sale?

A. I do not. He intimated to me that HE HAD TO INTEREST OTHER PARTIES, but he did not know who. . . . It was upon consultation of myself, Secretary and Governor, before receiving his appointment, Mr. S. proposed to buy the bonds. He proposed to buy fifty thousand dollars' worth at forty cents.

D. H. Weir, clerk in the Secretary of State's office, testified:

Mr. Pomeroy wrote the letter giving the information that the bonds could be sold, so the Secretary informed me. I understood from the Secretary that the bonds would not be sold for less than seventy cents on the dollar, and perhaps a larger price would be realized. From a memorandum in the Secretary's desk on which was computed the amount of bonds at eighty-three cents on the dollar. . . . The Auditor was so confident that the bonds could be sold that he advised me not to bond my scrip, as there would be money to redeem it.

The Secretary of State wrote from Washington to Mr. Weir: "Keep entirely mum about the bonds. Do not say a word to any person alive — not even to your wife — for we *want it as secret as it can be, till it is fixed.* Yours very truly, J. W. ROBINSON."

The above is the way the bank burglars and Jesse Jameses want it.

THE WAY BOB STEVENS NEGOTIATED THE BONDS.

A few days later he again wrote:

"I HAD AN INTERVIEW WITH MR. LINCOLN night before last, in his private parlor, and he seemed desirous to do all he could, and *promised to order the negotiations made*, if it was not seriously opposed by any of his cabinet or the people of our State. . . . We may possibly put in the lot at 60 cents, but it will never hurt the State a dime or will even be heard of, but I shall thank God. . . . Keep still.—J. W. R."

Treasurer Dutton swore that he

"Sold the \$31,000 of war bonds to Mr. Stevens for 40 cents on the dollar and took his receipt. . . . I also gave him \$27,000 7 per cent. bonds and took his receipt for them, to be returned or sold at 70 cents on the dollar. The bonds were not returned to me. He came back, and I was informed by the Auditor and Secretary of State that they had made an arrangement for the sale of the bonds, and I took an additional receipt for \$53,400, FIVE THOUSAND DOLLARS BEING RETAINED by the Auditor to REDEEM SCRIP."

ROBERT MORROW's warrants issued in payment for supplies furnished to

the Quartermaster-General of Kansas were paid in money to Mr. Stevens. Here is another dish of sweetmeats. The Treasurer gives Stevens, who was Gov. Robinson's partner, \$113,400 in Kansas bonds, to be paid for when the Secretary of State had sold them, and for which no security was given, and in which Stevens had not a dollar invested. Five thousand dollars was generously saved to redeem scrip at par, presented by the common people, but Robert Morrow, another partner of Gov. Robinson and R. S. Stevens, got par for his warrants given for supplies, at a price to be paid in scrip worth, supposed to be, 30 to 40 cents on the dollar, but received in payment in money at 100 cents. When one has a good thing there is nothing like keeping it in the family. It is not to be wondered at that Gov. Robinson is well fixed.

Mr. Morrow, being sworn, says:

"I reside in Lawrence. Am interested in the Lawrence Bank. I am at this time nominally president of the bank, but I disposed of my interest sometime in the fall to R. S. Stevens. The directors of the Lawrence Bank are James Blood, T. B. Eldridge, Mr. Stevens and Gov. Robinson and myself. The directors are principally the stockholders. . . . Mr. Dutton has an account at the Lawrence Bank. He gives drafts on our bank which we pay in such funds as he draws for."

Here is a close corporation; reduced to actual fact it is about as follows: Lawrence Bank, Governor Charles Robinson and Bob Stevens, owners and proprietors; Robert Morrow, nominal president and director; James Blood and T. B. Eldridge, nominal directors, to make out the necessary names required by law to do a banking business, and to furnish supplies to the Kansas State troops at prices based on scrip at 40 to 60 cents on the dollar, which will be paid by this bank at 100 cents on the dollar. Said supplies when bought to be paid for with money belonging to the State. We will negotiate the sale of State bonds to be nominally sold to Mr. Stevens at 40 to 57½ cents on the dollar, but really to be sold to the Department at Washington by Secretary of State Robinson and Auditor Hillyer at 85 and 95 cents on the dollar and turned over to said Stevens, who will pay orders of the State on this bank in Red Dog bank bills which cost considerable to print them,—can't pay in other funds,—don't ask for it; if you do you will not get it. Gen. Collamore tried that business and failed, and lost his office besides.

Going through Robinson's record is a big job, and life is short. If written in detail the lives of the present generation would not be long enough for them to read it. We must hurry on.

R. S. Stevens, being sworn, says:

"My place of business is Lawrence, Douglas county, Kansas. My business is of a general character. . . . I was authorized to act just as I did act in the disposition of those bonds, by the Auditor and Secretary of State in their employment of me as their agent. I bought of the Treasurer of State about thirty thousand dollars of ten per cent. bonds, I think sometime in July, 1861. I received for those I sold to the Interior Department 95 cents on the dollar. I think I sold about twenty-six thousand dollars. I paid to the Treasurer a portion of it in cash; the balance was AFTERWARDS placed to his credit IN THE LAWRENCE BANK. [He said he received the semi-annual interest on the Kansas State bonds, which was due on January 1st, 1862.] These bonds were negotiated with the Department at Washington the latter part of December. [Thus receiving interest on bonds belonging to the State, and for which Stevens had not paid a dollar.—EDITOR.]

Question: Did Charles Robinson share with you any of the profits arising from the sale of Kansas State bonds?

In reference to other parties, I PREFER THEY SHOULD ANSWER FOR THEMSELVES.

There is the meat in the nut. If Robinson was not in collusion with Stevens, would not Stevens answer promptly NO?

Copy from the report:

Copies of the following document were furnished to the committee by R. S. Stevens. Whether they are copies of original, and if so, *whether such copies are correct*, the committee have not been able to ascertain:

COPY.

"This certifies that we have employed and constituted R. S. Stevens an agent on the part of the State of Kansas to negotiate and sell all of the seven per cent. bonds of said State issued in accordance with an act of the Legislature of Kansas approved May 1, 1861, and an act supplementary thereto approved June 3d, 1861, authorizing the sale and issue of one hundred and fifty thousand dollars of the bonds of said State; and we hereby agree to give him for his services as such agent all and whatever amount of money he may receive for said bonds over and above sixty cents on every dollar.

"Witness our hands, this 3d day of December, A. D. 1861.

JOHN W. ROBINSON, Secretary of State.

GEO. S. HILLYER, Auditor State."

This paper is, according TO MY BELIEF, a true copy of the original.

R. S. STEVENS."

[According to his belief! Why did he not produce the original? Viz., because it looks very much as if it had Charles Robinson's name on it, and it would have been proof so damaging that he would have been impeached by the State Senate as he was by the House.]

COPY.

"Executive Department, Office State Auditor, Topeka, Kansas, Oct. 25, 1861.—The undersigned, executive officers of this State, authorized by law

to dispose of and sell the seven per cent. bonds, the issuance of which was authorized by an act of the Legislature of this State, approved May 1st, 1861, entitled 'An act to authorize the negotiation of one hundred and fifty thousand dollars of the bonds of the State of Kansas, to defray the current expenses of the State,' and an act supplementary thereto, approved June 3d, 1861, do hereby constitute and appoint Robert S. Stevens, Esq., an agent to dispose of said bonds, giving him, the said Stevens, full power and authority to negotiate, dispose of and sell the entire sum of said one hundred and fifty thousand dollars of said bonds for the benefit of the State of Kansas; hereby ratifying and confirming all and whatever said Stevens may do in the premises. Witness our hand and seal, this 26th day of October, A. D. 1861.

C. ROBINSON, Governor.

JOHN W. ROBINSON, Secretary State.

GEO. S. HILLYER, Auditor State."

"NOTE.—[This paper was executed in Washington in December, 1861, and dated back, the Governor's name being signed thereto by the Auditor or Secretary.] The above, excepting the note in brackets, I BELIEVE to be a true copy of the original, on file in the Interior Department at Washington.

R. S. STEVENS."

We will now see what the old Trojan himself has to say.

Gov. Robinson, in his evidence, said that he did not sign the contract made with Stevens and Secretary Robinson and Auditor Hillyer. Stevens asked him to sign such paper, but refused. Acknowledged that he gave Secretary Robinson authority to use his name, but only in transactions inside the law. Personally he would approve of anything they did, but would not officially. He knew Gen. Pomeroy had written to Secretary Robinson, telling him the bonds could be negotiated in Washington, but he did not know it officially.

The question of right did not appear to enter into the Governor's calculations.

Let us examine a little into the Governor's evidence, and see what is left after stripping it of its verbiage: "I understood from Hillyer and Robinson, that they authorized Stevens to sell the bonds and have all he could get over sixty cents on the dollar. I did not approve OFFICIALLY of the same." He might just as well have added: "Personally I will approve anything you do; but officially I must keep inside the law." There was a conversation before they went away of the necessity of the sale of bonds to meet the interest due on the bonds coming due on the first of January, 1862. WHAT BONDS? Viz., the bonds unsold and still in the possession of the State officers and Bob Stevens. Was the interest paid? IT WAS. To WHOM? Bob Stevens. Why was it paid to Bob Stevens? To reward his honesty and generosity in paying into Robinson & Stevens's bank the enormous sum of

\$12,400 from the sale of \$31,000 of war bonds, retaining for his commission on that one transaction the trifling sum of \$18,600; and as a further reward for his honesty in depositing in the Lawrence Bank sixty cents on the dollar for the sale of State bonds, when he might as well have kept it all, as the State had no security. Another instance of honesty rewarded.

Robinson says he knew the bonds could be sold in Washington. Pomeroy had so written. He knew he had no legal right to sell the bonds for less than seventy cents on the dollar, and for that reason refused to sign a paper authorizing their sale for a less price, presented by Mr. Stevens. Admitting this last item to be true, let us imagine the Governor's answer to Stevens: "Bob, that won't do; I can't sign such a paper. It would send me to the penitentiary. I want to make all I can out of it, but I don't want to get into the pen. You will have no trouble in manipulating Secretary Robinson and Hillyer when you get to Washington. I have set them up, and given them verbal permission to attach my name to any paper that is necessary to negotiate the bonds. This will answer for our purpose very well, and protect me at the same time. Should the matter be investigated, I could swear Robinson and Hillyer did not have my permission to use my name to any transaction that was not inside the law."

Would not an honest man have written or gone to Washington himself in person, and sold the bonds to the department FOR ALL HE COULD GET, and returned every dollar of it to the State treasury? That was the way Carney and Crawford [later Governors of Kansas] did, and was the way any honest man would do.

The Governor admits that he signed \$40,000 of war bonds, when there were only \$20,000 authorized. If he knew what he was doing, he was a knave; if he did not, he was incompetent to hold any position of public trust.

Wm. P. Dole, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, testified that the State officers, with the aid of the State delegation, could have negotiated the bonds.

Gen. Lane testified that he saw Hillyer and Robinson [Secretary of State] in Washington frequently before the bonds were negotiated, and asked them as frequently if Bob Stevens or Gov. Robinson had anything to do, directly or indirectly, with the sale of the bonds. They asseverated in the most emphatic manner that they had not. Otherwise he would not have permitted the negotiation to be made, as the money could not be kept in the State treasury, as these harpies would steal it. On one occasion they came to him with Bob Stevens behind them, and he said to them that unless they could come to him without the company of a thief like Bob Stevens, he would have nothing to do with them. He afterwards signed the paper recommending

the President to make the negotiation, with the distinct and emphatic understanding that the entire proceeds of the sale were to go into the Kansas State treasury, and be carried to the State by Auditor Hillyer and Secretary Robinson, and that Bob Stevens or Gov. Robinson should not handle or touch a dollar of it. "Had I known that Governor Robinson or Bob Stevens had anything to do with the transaction, I would have opposed it with all the energy of my nature."

Governor Robinson and his partners use the State's money to run their bank, and when State orders on the bank are presented, the holder of the order is told the bank has no money; gives drafts on New York, payable thirty days after date, and when presented in New York, were protested. Notwithstanding this, the whisky vendors of Lawrence present Charles Robinson to the people of Douglas county as an honest man, and ask honest people to vote for him.

R. S. Stevens was a State Senator and a business partner of Governor Robinson in a bank at Lawrence, and known among the people as the "Red Dog" bank, and, like the Lawrence Savings Bank, was a bank without capital (other than the State's money, which was deposited in it by Governor Robinson's appointee, H. R. Dutton, State Treasurer), and the State's money was used by the bank as other deposits were. Gov. Robinson's private secretary was the cashier of the bank; R. S. Stevens (State Senator), and Charles Robinson (Governor), proprietors. The 40 per cent. received for the war bonds and the 65 per cent. received for the State bonds were deposited in this Red Dog bank by Treasurer Dutton, as is shown in his evidence, and loaned out on interest by the bank, as shown by the evidence of Gen. Collamore.

Gen. Collamore, State Quartermaster-General, who presented his scrip to the bank for payment—to defray the expenses in organizing the troops—was told that the bank was out of money, but they would give him a draft on New York, payable thirty days after date. He inquired if the money was there; the cashier admitted it was not, but said it would be. Collamore finally accepted a draft on the Ocean Bank of New York, at thirty days, but questioning the honesty of the bank proprietors, refused to give up his bonds and warrants, till he got the money, and deposited them with Wesley Duncan, to be delivered when Mr. Duncan should get the money. These drafts, amounting to \$7138.68, at the end of thirty days were protested and dishonored. This transaction with Collamore brought Gen. Lane's attention to the fact that Robinson, Stevens & Co.'s bank was loaning and speculating with the State's money, and he appeared upon the scene and fairly made

Rome howl; and such a cry of indignation went up from the people—it seemed as if hanging-time had about come. The State was to be reimbursed by the United States for expenses incurred in organizing troops.

The duty of covering that money into the Kansas treasury fell to General Collamore, as the Quartermaster-General of the State.

The above bank transaction proved to Robinson that he could not use the General in his schemes to make money at the State's expense, and he was determined to get him out of his way that he might appoint his tool, Dutton, in his place, and sent the following letter:

STATE OF KANSAS, EXECUTIVE OFFICE,
TOPEKA, March 15, 1862.

Gen. George W. Collamore—Sir: I have the honor to inform you that I have appointed Hon. H. R. Dutton agent to receive the money due the State of Kansas for expenses incurred in organizing and subsisting volunteers for the United States service. Your appointment is accordingly revoked, and you will deliver to Mr. Dutton all vouchers and other necessary papers in your possession, to enable him to make a proper settlement with the treasury department.

Very respectfully,

C. ROBINSON, Governor of Kansas.

Gen. Collamore was not the man to surrender, and he denied Governor Robinson's power to get the treasures of the State out of his hands.

We quote the following from his response:

LAWRENCE, March 18, 1862.

To His Excellency, Charles Robinson, Governor of Kansas: . . . Recent developments have disclosed that honest citizens—not only men, but widows and orphans—have been defrauded by officers in high places, and it grieves me to say that this young and growing State is greatly injured in the eyes of the civilized world; therefore it devolves upon me as an humble citizen of Kansas and holding the office that I now do, to move with great caution. . . . My whole aim is that the people whose public servants we are shall not suffer, and as far as in my power lies, either in my official capacity or individual capacity, their interests shall be promoted and protected.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

GEO. W. COLLAMORE, Quartermaster-General of Kansas.

The honest old Diogenes lit his lantern and started out to look for an honest man, and found one as follows:

TOPEKA, March 22, 1862.

Geo. W. Collamore, Quartermaster-General, K. M.: . . . As you are unable to comprehend my previous order, I will direct that you deliver to Col. J. S. Emery, my Aide and Assistant Adjutant-General, all papers, vouchers and property of whatever kind belonging to the office of Quartermaster-General. . . .

C. ROBINSON,
Governor, and Commander-in-Chief K. M.

General Collamore was so blind to the honest merits of his new appointee that he still refused to deliver up his papers, and replied as follows:

LAWRENCE, KAS., April 5, 1862.

. . . Finally, I will add that in the latter part of May last past, some of the companies of May last past, some of the companies of the Kansas First being nearly full, lacking only a few members to reach the minimum number required before mustering in, you, then being Governor of Kansas, requested of me, Quartermaster-General of Kansas, to go down to Leavenworth and get some of those poor miserable devils to enlist and pay them five dollars apiece, with the understanding for them to desert the next day. This base proposition was made by you to me on the afternoon of the 30th day of May, 1861. The man so depraved, so lost to honor and shame, will not scruple to assert anything or do any act, be it never so corrupt and wicked, when it is to his selfish interest so to do.

GEO. W. COLLAMORE.

The penalty for desertion in war-time is death. Here we have the spectacle of the Governor of Kansas setting a trap to put young men in danger of being shot, for the paltry sum of five dollars. Could baseness go farther? Perhaps he looked upon that class of men as he said in his lecture at Parsons — the sooner they died the better, and was a beneficial way of killing them off. Gen. Lane and Sidney Clarke, in company of the leading Free-State men who were in Washington at that time, placed on file in the Treasury Department the following protest:

WASHINGTON, April 6, 1862.

We, the undersigned citizens of Kansas, protest against the payment of the State of Kansas for expenses in organizing volunteer troops for the service of the United States to the present State Treasurer of Kansas, or to any of the officers of the present State Government, or agents of the same, for reasons deducible from the following statement of facts. . . .

In this document they charge Governor Robinson with dishonesty and colluding with others in manipulating and using the State money for their own personal advantage, and to the disadvantage of the State of Kansas.

Does not the above show a nice condition of things? In the face of such a past official record, one would think that Governor Robinson would be ashamed to ask the people of Douglas county, or the State, to again elect him to official position. But modesty is no part of the Governor's make-up. One of our State Treasurers a few years ago was forced to resign his office to escape impeachment for using the State money in his own banking business, when it was never charged that the State had or would lose a dollar, or that as Treasurer he had ever failed to pay on demand any draft made on him as State Treasurer for payment.

What would the people of Kansas think and say of Gov. Glick, or any other Governor, if his official action had been such that any member of the State Government would dare to publish such letters as these Collamore letters were — plainly and openly charging him with official corruption, and telling him that he as Governor of the State **HAD ROBBED THE WIDOWS AND ORPHANS, AS WELL AS THE STATE?** They would hiss him out of the State or send him to the penitentiary; and yet our Democratic friends want us to elect this man to the State Senate.

Gen. Collamore was one of the best and purest men that ever trod Kansas soil. No taint of corruption or job was ever attached to his fair name. When his spirit went to God, in the Lawrence massacre, his loss was a public calamity. The citizens of Lawrence, recognizing his ability and purity, elected him Mayor of the city, in which capacity he was acting at the time of his death.

These shameful and barefaced robberies of the people of the State resulted in the Governor, Auditor and Secretary being impeached by the House of Representatives by a unanimous vote of 65 members. The Governor escaped impeachment by the Senate, composed of 20 voting members. Of these, the two Douglas county Senators were his partners in the Red Dog bank. When we take into consideration the fact that the Governor had an immense amount of patronage in commissions of officers in the army, from lieutenant to colonel, we readily see how he escaped conviction by the Senate. Many of these same Senators and their friends afterwards received commissions in the army. The verdict of the Senate was, in substance, the old Scotch verdict, **NOT PROVEN**. The people of the State pronounced the verdict of guilty. This trial was concluded on the 17th day of June, 1862. The Republican State Convention on the 17th day of September (just three months to a day after the impeachment trial), met, and Thomas Carney was nominated to succeed Chas. Robinson, who was relegated to private life in the most emphatic manner, not receiving a single vote in the convention for renomination.

It may not be out of place to stop in our narrative here to relate a little anecdote:

At that time there lived an old lady (whose name we have forgotten) at the town-site of Washington, one mile west of Big Springs on the Topeka road. She kept a log-house hotel. She was not handsome, but made excellent coffee, biscuits, butter and fried pork. In the amount of business that she did she outrivaled the most pretentious hotel in Big Springs. One day about this time General Lane on his way down from Topeka in a buggy (we

had no railroads in those days) stopped at the old lady's house for supper, during which she said, "General, I never expected to live long enough to see a man mean enough to rob a people that were so poor their chickens couldn't crow, but I have."

This remark tickled Lane very much, as he had not noticed that during the winter months of 1860 and 1861 on account of the early troubles and a total drouth during the year of 1860 when there were ten months without rain (the people were very poor, and corn worth \$2 to \$4 per bushel), the chickens did not have sufficient food and did not crow.

We here have the disgraceful spectacle of the Governor of Kansas being investigated, charged with being in collusion with other men to rob the State.

Having more cunning than Hillyer and John W. Robinson, they were used as the cat's-paw to pull the chestnuts out of the fire. Bonds were voted by the State to pay its current expense, and equip and organize the Kansas troops to defend our Government against treason and rebellion.

The Governor was appointed chairman of a committee to place these bonds on the market, and negotiate their sale.

An honest man who was not a fool would have negotiated the bonds himself in person, and not have trusted to others such important responsibilities. In the following year the Legislature voted bonds, and Gov. Carney sold them FOR 95¼ CENTS ON THE DOLLAR AND TURNED OVER THAT AMOUNT TO THE STATE TREASURER. Governor Robinson TURNS OVER 40 CENTS ON THE DOLLAR. This bond transaction clearly proves that the Governor was either guilty of collusion with the thieves or guilty of incapacity and stupidity. S. J. Crawford succeeded Gov. Carney, and Carney was appointed State agent to sell the State bonds, which he did to the amount of near a half-million of dollars, for 91 to 100 cents on the dollar. ALL OF WHICH was turned over to the State Treasurer. There were no Bob Stevenses or Treasurer Duttons in their bond agency. Comment is unnecessary; these transactions tell their own story.

Treasurer Dutton left the State and settled in Chicago, where he started a wholesale whisky-shop. Gov. Robinson commissioned John W. Robinson as surgeon in the Second Kansas Regiment. He died at Fort Smith in Arkansas, December 11, 1862. Wilder, in his *Annals of Kansas*, says: "No other Kansas politician has died of a broken heart." It was generally believed that the Secretary of State and Auditor did not make anything out of this infamous bond transaction, but were used by Gov. Robinson, R. S. Stevens and Treasurer Dutton.

About the time of the sale of the war bonds Gov. Robinson rode from

Topeka to Lawrence in a buggy with a prominent business man who lives in Douglas county at this time, to whom the Governor said *that he* (ROBINSON) had sold the war bonds.

THE GOVERNOR'S FARM.

The farm on which the Governor resides, is comprised of TWO THOUSAND ONE HUNDRED AND SIXTY ACRES, received from the Kansas Pacific Railroad Company in payment for services rendered that corporation in obtaining subsidies from the General Government. A Greenbacker and Anti-Monopolist would say for helping the Kansas Pacific Railroad Company to steal the public lands; probably that accounts for the Governor's conversion to that faith.

The county records say this tract of valuable land, much of it Kansas river bottom and the best land in the State, was bought from the K. P. Railroad Company by Martha Robinson for the sum of one dollar. For fear that some of our Democratic friends may entertain the idea that they would like to buy some of that kind of land at the same price Martha Robinson paid, we will say the railroad company have closed out all the land they have for sale at that price. This land is described in County Record Book 11, page 369, as follows:

"All of sec's 4, 13, 17, and $\frac{1}{2}$ of s.w. $\frac{1}{4}$ sec. 18, and s.e. $\frac{1}{2}$ sec. 28, town. 12, range 20 — in all 2160 acres."

Sturgis, Robinson, Kalloch & Co. succeed in swindling Douglas, Franklin and Anderson counties out of \$650,000.—Try to steal 8,000,000 acres of land, worth \$40,000,000, from the Osage tribe of Indians.

For several years after the Governor was so unceremoniously kicked out of his office of Governor by the people, he spent his time on Martha Robinson's farm, and but little was heard from him during the years 1867 and 1868. The Leavenworth, Lawrence & Galveston Railroad project began to be agitated, and the air was rife with the smell of railroad lands and county bonds, which brought the Governor forth from his den, as the spider runs out of his hole when it hears a fly buzzing around its web.

The franchises of this railroad company were turned over to Wm. Sturgis & Co., Robinson and Kalloch being a part of the company. With the aid of a few barrels of whisky, and by corrupting the leading men of the Osage tribe of Indians, they succeeded in making a treaty with them, by which they were to sell 8,000,000 acres of the best land in the State to the railroad company for 19 cents an acre—to be paid for at some time in the future after they had made the money out of the land—and with a big flourish of

trumpets went to Washington to get the treaty ratified. The Hon. Sidney Clarke was our member in Congress at that time, and opposed this gigantic steal with energy and ability. By cajoling and threats, Robinson and Kalloch tried to induce him to cease his opposition to this infamy — only equalled in its bareness by the Robinson war bond transaction — but Mr. Clarke refused to be conciliated, and kept up his opposition to the measure till Congress adjourned, when all parties came home.

During the political canvass that followed, Governor Robinson and Mr. Kalloch, backed by the Galveston Railroad Company's money, did their level best to beat Mr. Clarke's nomination as a candidate to Congress to succeed himself. During the canvass, Gov. Robinson in his attack upon Mr. Clarke stated from the stump in every school-house in the county, that he had offered him twenty thousand dollars in money and ten sections of land, if he would cease his opposition to this attempted steal of lands worth \$40,000,000 — FORTY MILLIONS OF DOLLARS — but Mr. Clarke would not be conciliated.

The actual settlers eventually got the land instead of Sturgis, Robinson, Kalloch & Co. In addition to this land transaction, the Governor is more than any other man responsible for the \$300,000 of Douglas county bonds being stolen from this county, to pay for the interest and principal of which we are so fearfully taxed at the present time. We have it on the authority of the Governor himself that the L. L. & G. Railroad Company made a contract with I. S. Kalloch, by which they agreed to pay him the sum of twenty-five thousand dollars for his personal services in assisting to rob the counties of Douglas, Franklin and Anderson of their bonds, as follows: Douglas county, \$300,000; Franklin county, \$250,000; Anderson county, \$150,000. After the robbery had been accomplished they went back on their agreement, and only paid him \$12,500. If \$12,500, in addition to several sections of land, was the pay for Kalloch's services, what was Governor Robinson's compensation? If two thousand one hundred and sixty acres was the Governor's share of the land the Kansas Pacific Railroad Company got from the General Government, how much would have been his share if Sturgis, Robinson, Kalloch & Co. had succeeded in their attempted steal of 8,000,000 Osage Indian lands?

Life is too short to go into details of Governor Robinson's transactions in Kansas, and we will pass rapidly on. There is infamy enough in the Galveston Railroad business to fill a volume of itself.

ROBINSON AS VICE-PRESIDENT OF THE LAWRENCE SAVINGS BANK.

In October, 1877, the Lawrence Savings Bank closed its doors and ceased to exist as a bank. Up to the day on which it closed, the following business advertisement appeared in the most conspicuous place in the newspapers published in the city of Lawrence:

LAWRENCE SAVINGS BANK.

No. 52 Massachusetts Street, Lawrence, Kansas.

Enoch Hoag, President.

Charles Robinson, Vice-President.

Deposits amounting to one dollar and over will be received during the usual banking hours, and will draw interest at the rate of seven per cent. per annum, to be paid semi-annually in the months of April and October in each year, and if not drawn will be added and draw interest the same as the principal. Interest allowed on time deposits.

It is well known that stockholders in any bank or corporation are liable under the law for its indebtedness to twice the amount of his stock. When the bank books came into the assignee's hands they showed that Gov. Robinson had transferred his stock more than a year previous, to an irresponsible person from whom not one dollar could be or ever was collected. The following is copied from the bank books:

20 SHARES.

LAWRENCE, October 26, 1876.

For value received, I hereby assign and transfer to May L. Robinson all my right, title and interest in 20 shares of the capital stock of the Lawrence Savings Bank standing in my name on the books of said bank.

C. ROBINSON.

Witness: JOHN K. RANKIN.

L. Bullene, B. W. Woodward and others owned stock in this bank — but did not transfer it to irresponsible persons; they walked up to the assignee and paid in money to the amount for which they were liable under the law. Not so with the worthy Governor; he paid nothing. The widows, orphans, bootblacks and sewing-women had their money in that savings bank.

Was it a straightforward, honest business transaction for Gov. Robinson to let his name stand out in big advertising letters for one year after he knew the bank was rotten, thus inveigling poor people into depositing their little all, with a certainty of never getting it out? But a few days before it closed its doors, Mrs. Dr. Sam Huson deposited the five thousand dollars she had received from the Missouri Valley Life Insurance Company on her husband's death. Mrs. Jennings, a widow, who earned her money by going out sewing at fifty cents a day, lost \$85; the Eldridge House bootblack lost \$65, earned five cents at a time; and so we might enumerate to the amount

of many thousands of dollars. When the bank made a public showing by advertisement in the newspapers only three months before it closed, that its assets were \$60,000 more than its liabilities, was that an honest transaction? The Governor knew that showing was a lie. The Governor stands in the same relation to this Savings Bank fraud that he did to the State bond steal. He was a party to the swindle, or he lacks the ability to keep his fair name uncontaminated by swindles. If the Governor is a man of such wonderful ability and integrity his Democratic friends claim, how comes it that he has such a fearful bad public record? We have had seven Governors since Gov. Robinson's term expired, not one of whom has a taint of corruption or stupidity, such as letting thieves rob the State, attached to his official record.

Charles Robinson was elected Governor on the first Tuesday in December, 1859. The State was admitted into the Union January 29th, 1861. It was contended by many that his term of office expired at the end of two years from the first day of January succeeding his election. The Governor contended that his term of office commenced with the admission of the State into the Union, and would not expire till January, 1863. He was hardly warm in his seat before he was so unpopular that the people seized upon any pretext to get him out of office; and in the latter part of October, 1861, petitions from all parts of the State were sent in to the Republican State Central Committee asking them to make a State ticket to be voted for at the coming election. The following is a copy of the petition:

We, the undersigned citizens, suffering in common with others from the impotency or malice of the present Executive, and earnestly desiring a State Government that will in a patriotic and energetic manner defend our people from invasion—knowing that by the plain and emphatic provisions of the State constitution the term of our State officers expires on the first day of January and that the Legislative enactment continuing the State officers beyond that time is null and void, and that there is not sufficient time before the election to hold a nominating convention, do respectfully pray your honorable body to nominate a full State ticket of Union men, without reference to their political antecedents, men who will conduct the State Government with reference to the good of the whole country, and not upon merely personal grounds.

In accordance with this request, T. Dwight Thacher, as secretary of the committee, called it together. They made a ticket and platform and nominated most of the then present State officers, but Gov. Robinson was left off, and when election day came the people decided by their votes that they had no further use for him. The legality of this election was contested by Gov. Robinson, the validity of which was decided by the State Supreme Court in Robinson's favor, and he held over another year.

A few days ago the *Lawrence Journal* called his attention to his Ottawa speech, when he said that one church did more harm than five or six saloons, to which the Governor replied, admitting the charge, and explaining that he meant the churches of twenty years ago and not the churches of to-day. His explanation reminds us of an anecdote of the late Baron Rothschild. On a certain occasion he went into the country to spend the Sabbath with a friend. The friend gave the Baron an invitation to attend church, which he accepted. During the services the minister took occasion to score the Jews. In the evening the friend again invited the Baron to attend divine services. The Baron excused himself, giving as a reason that in the morning service the preacher had abused and insulted his people. The friend replied: "My dear Baron, he did not mean gentleman Jews — he meant Jews that sell old clothes."

COMMENT BY JOHN SPEER.

Commenting on this same matter, Hon. John Speer, in his MS. account, now in the library of the Historical Society, goes over each item. We quote from him. Some of his language is omitted, as the points are made plain in the newspaper article quoted.

The whole history of that transaction will be found in detail in a volume entitled, "Impeachment Trials." The work will be as lasting as any portion of the printed archives of the State. . . . The resolution to impeach passed the House: yeas, 65; nays, 0.

The proof before the Senate, on the trial, showed that Governor Charles Robinson had given written authority to the Auditor and Secretary to use his name in the sale of \$150,000 of State bonds. The authority was before the State Senate, undenied by Governor Robinson; but he testified himself, in his trial before the Senate, that he did not authorize them to sell contrary to law. The law required that the bonds should not be sold for less than 70 cents on the dollar. One Robert S. Stevens, of Ithaca, New York, who built under a Government contract a large number of Indian houses on the Neosho river and elsewhere in Kansas, was a very shrewd man, and considered by many as unscrupulous as shrewd; and he had acquired much knowledge about Indian investments of funds by the Interior Department. Thus informed, he entered into a contract to sell these bonds to that department for 90 cents on the dollar, conditional that the Governor, Auditor and

Secretary should pay him as their agent all over 60 cents on the dollar, and that contract was fulfilled in the names of all of them.

The case of Robinson was decided upon a principle of law established by as pure a jurist as ever wore the ermine, "the bosom friend of George Washington," Chief Justice Marshall, in the treason trial of Aaron Burr; but not without the bitterest antagonism of President Jefferson. Says one of the ablest historians of the time: "If Burr had been proven to have been at Blannerhassett's Island when the boats started down the Ohio, the *overt* act would have been made out, and in all probability the Government would have attained a conviction."

The case of Robinson was similar. He was not "in the boats." If he had been personally at Washington, operating with his co-officers, who could doubt what would have been the result? There are other similar features in these two cases. Burr had been twice indicted in Kentucky and was honorably acquitted. . . . That Stevens got the money was never denied; and Gen. Lane openly branded him as a thief, and declared that he had been "expelled from the Interior Department for fear he would steal the stone steps of the Patent Office." Not so with Robinson, who stuck to Stevens as the succor of his hope for all the reputation he had left. Burr and Robinson, both indicted, got off on the same technical plea, and with intelligent men there is no more doubt about one than the other.

There was another bond transaction under Gov. Robinson's administration. William Tholen, of Leavenworth, was elected State Treasurer, running ahead of Robinson, and beating every candidate of the eleven State officers but one. He made a good bond; but Governor Robinson, who in his official capacity had the approving of the State Treasurer's bond, declared the bond insufficient, and appointed to the vacancy he had himself made, a tool by the name of H. R. Dutton. The State passed a law for issuing \$20,000 bonds, known as war bonds, for the emergencies of the Rebellion, making no limit for the amount at which they might be sold. They ran two years, at 10 per cent. per annum. Hon. Thaddeus Hyatt, and Gov. Andrew of Massachusetts, being friends of Treasurer Dutton and R. S. Stevens, of Kansas, offered to take them at par. These men nevertheless sold these bonds for forty cents on the dollar. Although the law only authorized the issue of \$20,000, these men had nearly \$40,000 of bonds signed, as is shown by Dutton's testimony (Impeachment Cases, page 213), and had sold over \$31,000 for forty cents on the dollar; and Senator Lane prevented the sale of more, at the same rates. Stevens was the particular friend and accomplice of Robinson. Unlike Clay with Burr, he never forsook him, but they

kept doing business at the same old stand, whether bonds were to be sold or an election run, although Stevens was a rock-ribbed Buchanan Democrat, receiving Indian contracts, apparently useless to the Indians and only beneficial to Stevens and his "Indian ring." These cabins with Indians sleeping outside of them in contempt were objects of curiosity to travelers by rail up and down the Neosho river for twenty years, and Stevens was known as the Kansas manipulator of the Pro-Slavery administration of Buchanan as long as it existed, and every day of its existence, Buchanan proclaiming that "slavery existed in Kansas as much as it did in Georgia."

The Union Pacific Railway secured the rights of the Leavenworth, Pawnee & Western Railway to 260,000 acres of the land on the Delaware Indian Reservation, conditioned to constructing a railway, and it was necessary to have the Governor's approval of its construction, and that company deeded to Governor Robinson a section and a half of that land in admiration for his honesty and statesmanship, for *one dollar*, as the records of Douglas county show. How that company admired his statesmanship! It would have been just as easy to insert a just value, say \$15,000, but the officers could not have shown to the Eastern capitalists what they did with the money.

Several persons have written "histories" and sketches, in which, by innuendo rather than direct charges, they have attempted to throw obloquy upon the administration of Abraham Lincoln in regard to his conduct toward the administration of Kansas under Gov. Robinson. They represent Lincoln's conduct as "mysterious" errors, unaccountable in such a man. There was a mystery about it.

At the very beginning of Mr. Lincoln's administration, Gov. Robinson set his eye upon the Indian Bureau, and went to Washington to secure the appointment of Commissioner of Indian Affairs. So certain did he seem of getting it, that his organ (for he always had a newspaper in his control) tauntingly notified his opponents that he (Robinson) would have the "dispensation of the little guardianships of the red man" in his grasp. That went forth as a bribe in one hand and a rod in the other. There was no other position in the gift of the President of such power in the hands of a corrupt politician. It was incalculable. Superintendents, clerks, agents, mechanics, farmers, teachers, missionaries, were all perquisites of corruption in a bad man's grasp. Then supplies! Who can limit them? A stump speaker once said of an Indian trader who got rich: "It requires no financial talent to buy Indian beads at 75 cents a bushel and sell them for a dollar a string." Lincoln had the experience of the scandals of the plains

under Buchanan's administration. Mails were burned to save hauling. It would be an insult to his intelligence to suppose that all these charges of bond transactions by Robinson were not familiar to him. Robinson's ambition was checked right then; and he returned from Washington the bitter enemy of Lincoln, and remained so till Lincoln's death. He never voted for him. In 1864 every effort he could put forth was exerted to send an anti-Lincoln delegate. Thos. J. Sternbergh was the Lincoln candidate in Lawrence, and was elected in defiance of every possible effort against him. In the calamity which befell Kansas at the hands of Gen. Price, Robinson remained at Lawrence, using all his power to prevent the advance of the army, representing that it was a trick of Lane to get the people into trouble. This is his language in his own organ, the *Lawrence Journal*: "We pity the Grim Chieftain, now at Hickman's Mills searching for an opportunity to get up a bogus reputation, if Price has actually fled. He came from the East very much alarmed, actually scared. He went to the Fort; Sykes was removed. Called upon the Government for militia; martial law was declared, militia called out—he appointed aide-de-camp. Our militia have been to Lexington, Mo., and have scoured the country from the Kansas border to that locality. No force of the enemy can be found. He is not anywhere in that region. All the stories we have heard (from Curtis and Lane) have turned out to be great exaggerations. Wherever our militia go, whether at Independence or Lexington, they find that a big scare appears to have existed on a very slight foundation."

This appeared in the *Lawrence Journal* October 20th, 1864. On that very day Lane was at Lexington in the hottest of the fight (see the record from Wilder's Annals), while Robinson was doing his best to discourage and prevent advancement:

"October 20th, 1864: Engagement at Lexington, Mo., and retreat to the Little Blue.

"October 21: Battle along the Little Blue; Union victory. Price and his whole army engaged.

"October 22: Battle of the Big Blue; Union victory. . . . Citizens of Kansas (mostly militia) now under arms estimated to number 20,000.

"October 23: Battle of Westport. Defeat and retreat of Price. Colonel Moonlight moves down the Kansas border in advance."

Then followed the retreat of Price, the battle of Mine Creek; the route of Price and the capture of the Rebel Generals Marmaduke, Cabell, Slemmons, and Graham.

By the opposition of Robinson and his cohorts, parts of two regiments

deserted and one Colonel was put in a log pen, with logs enough over it to hold an elephant, while his command was hurried on to the front.

The poltroons who have assaulted the Kansas troops would not dare to go up to the grave of Lane at Oak Hill, and open up the grass and whisper his name.

It is well-known here, however, that the estimate of the Emigrant Aid Company for this house seems to have been \$500, as their books now in the archives of the Kansas Historical Society show that that was the amount paid to Charles Robinson by that company to reimburse him for the loss of that house.

We refer especially to this house, because it is the easiest of estimate of all claims. It was a frame house, not to exceed in dimensions more than 20 x 30 feet, a story and a half high, constructed in the cheap style generally known as a balloon frame, the upright scantling not to exceed 16 feet in length, with no cellar walls. The siding was black walnut, six inches wide, half an inch thick, all rough, except the window and door frames. The price of all this lumber was forty dollars per thousand, the shingles five dollars per thousand. Its cost is easily estimated. Wages of hands were low, not to exceed two dollars a day, though lumber at forty dollars was considered high.

Truth works out in various ways. Almost forty years from the time of the burning of that house, Mrs. Sherman, who at that time was the bride of the great statesman, in an interview given to Mrs. Isabel Worrell Ball, published in the *Topeka Capital* April 26th, 1896, gave one of the most racy interviews ever published of that remarkable epoch in Kansas and American history. Mrs. Ball having told her she was from Kansas:

"Kansas," she repeated after me, with a smile on her gentle face; "I expect, my dear, that I knew Kansas long before you were born. I didn't exactly take my wedding tour there, but went so soon after my marriage that it might be called that. It was in 1856, when my husband was made a member of the Congressional Investigating Committee to look into and report the alleged frauds in the elections just held in Kansas. . . . When we got to Lawrence it was 9 o'clock at night. We were not expected, and I presume it would not have made much difference if we had been, for the town was full. The Eldridge House was not then quite completed; but the shavings and lime were swept off into a corner and a bed was made for us on the floor.

"The next morning, Governor and Mrs. Robinson — though he was not Governor then — came and took Mr. Sherman and myself out to their house on Mt. Oread. I can see it all plainly. The house was a little frame affair, with a rough board floor full of cracks. I was mortally afraid of snakes;

and I had been told that snakes often stuck their heads up through the floors. So of course I was always looking for snakes there, but none ever visited my vision. The house was perfectly new, and the plastering yet so soft that I could dent it with my fingers."

The only better evidence than this as to the extravagant, unwarranted, aggregated, duplicated, triplicated, quadrupled, sextupled value of this house charged to Kansas, was the owner's acknowledgment in reply to J. H. Shimmons, when he said "all the claimants made such charges."

He first presented a claim to Mr. Strickler for \$10,000 for false imprisonment, and failing with that just and upright Democrat, he reduced it to \$500, and presented it to the committee of two Republicans and one Democrat, to have it rejected again. Like a Peter Funk auctioneer, he presented the "sufferings of Charles Robinson,—going, going, who offers \$10,000? No bidders—put it on the shelf!" And again he comes into the market: "Going, going! who offers \$500? No bidders!" And it lies upon the shelf dishonored and reprobated every day of the forty years since the attempt to grasp that sordid lucre from the exhausted empty coffers of the people, and formulate it into a State debt running up with others of like character into millions, grasping their property with the firmness of a mortgage, upon all they had or might acquire.

During these days of tribulation, one beautiful morning, September 13, 1856, one hundred and one brave, bold, defiant men, with steady step and countenance unblanched with fear, under the aim of cavalry carbines and uplifted swords marched into the Leecompton prison on the grave charge of "murder" because they had captured and driven away the menacing Pro-Slavery forces fortified at Hickory Point! Robinson's position was that of a civilian, who never sat a squadron in the field nor exercised a single individual in the manual of arms. These men gallantly met the foes of freedom. On the precedent set by Robinson—\$10,000 per man—that was the nucleus for a rich "reprisal," worth one million ten thousand dollars. And yet the avaricious idea of levying tribute upon their fellow-sufferers never entered the brain of one of these patriots.

It would naturally be supposed that if Robinson was the leading spirit in all the history of Kansas, public attention might be called to some beneficial law which he was instrumental in enacting. No one has ever attempted any such impossibility. Robinson first opposed the movement for the Topeka Constitution, then fell in with it, and was a candidate for delegate to the Big Springs Convention, but was defeated by Lane. This was Lane's first official entry into the Free-State cause. Robinson was subsequently elected a delegate to the Topeka Constitutional Convention, and Governor under its

Constitution. That movement was thwarted by President Pierce and a Pro-Slavery Congress. He was elected Governor under our present Constitution, October 4th, 1859. This was before the expose of his fraudulent bond transaction. That transaction as completely ended his usefulness as if he had been dead; but if anything was needed to keep him down, it was brought on him in the frauds against the State heretofore alluded to. To put him, if possible, still further beyond the hopes of political resurrection, he secured the election of Robert S. Stevens, the accomplice in the sale of the State bonds for 60 cents on the dollar when the law required that they should not be sold for less than 90 cents, out of which he escaped by an alibi, although the record showed his complicity by his own authority for the sale at any price. In this election Col. Charles H. Jennison appeared as his friend and Stevens's friend, with 60 armed men, voted, and was ready as a "killer" to protect the illegal voting; and 1100 votes were cast, or counted and cast together, in Lawrence, when that city, by the United States census taken by Hon. Geo. A. Reynolds, had but 1600 inhabitants, men, women and children, and more than half of the adult male inhabitants, including Captain F. B. Swift's and Capt. Samuel Walker's companies, were in the field fighting for their country. This was Nov. 5th, 1861, less than three months after Gen. Lyon fell at Springfield. After this outrage upon the polls through Robinson's military power, President Lincoln entirely ignored him, and conferred almost exclusive power in Kansas, military and civil, upon Gen. Lane. This needs no proof. Every writer sustaining Robinson upon the subject and pretending to loyalty has admitted it as one of the "mysteries" of Lincoln's administration, and every rebel has charged it upon Lincoln.

SUMMARY OF ONE TRANSACTION.

In the same campaign a circular was published and circulated in Douglas county, from which the following is quoted. It explains why Morrow's picture adorns G. W. Brown's Gov. Walker book. He was a "business" partner in the "Red Dog" Bank.

The balance of the enormous sum of \$12,400 not paid to Bob Morrow for provisions and the Robinson buggy-hire was \$8831.46. This money was deposited in Robinson, Morrow and Stevens's Red Dog bank at Lawrence; and in the meantime between July and the following January the State paid its creditors in scrip and warrants and Robinson and Stevens's bank bought

them up at forty and fifty cents on the dollar with this very money that they had promised the State for the bonds. The case summed up stands thus: The Legislature authorizes the issuance of \$20,000 in State bonds, known as war bonds, made payable two years after date and drawing interest at the rate of ten per centum per annum. Governor Charles Robinson signs \$40,000 of these bonds when he had authority to sign only \$20,000, and through his appointee and tool, Dutton, sold \$31,000 to Governor Robinson's partner for \$12,400; Stevens sells them to the Government for \$29,450. Keeping \$17,050 for their trouble, they buy State scrip and warrants from the dear people at 50 cents on the dollar with the remaining \$8831.46.

To strike a balance it would appear thus:

Received from the State Government, \$31,000.00.	
Discount to General Government at 5 per cent.....	\$1,550.00
Paid Robinson and Stevens for negotiating said bonds.....	17,050.00
Paid Robinson's partner, R. Morrow, army-supply contractor, one-half of which was profit, price of said supplies having been based on scrip supposed to be worth 50 cents on the dollar....	922.50
Messenger bill	467.18
Robinson's buggy bill	1,002.50
Profits on \$8,831.46 of State money invested in State warrants and scrip bought at 50 cents on the dollar.....	4,415.73
Total as Robinson & Stevens's share.....	\$25,407.91
The dear people's share.....	5,592.09
Total.....	\$31,000.00

For further particulars, see Impeachment Cases, page 324.

HOW ROBINSON GAVE LAND FOR THE UNIVERSITY.

The same circular tells how the Governor gave land for the State University:

Governor Robinson has had much to say about his generosity in giving forty acres of his land to the State for a University site, but he fails to tell his audience that the University being built where it is, enhanced the balance of his land to a far larger valuation than the whole was before the University was built. He also fails to tell them that the business men of the city subscribed and paid to him a large sum of money—more than the land was worth, in consideration of this conveyance; and that some of the subscribers got embarrassed and could not pay their subscription, and the Governor sued the balance of the subscribers and made them pay their own

subscriptions, together with the subscriptions of those that could not pay. E. W. Wood put his name to the subscription paper to the amount of ten dollars, as he supposed, but in law the reading of the paper made every subscriber liable for the whole amount; consequently Mr. Wood was sued for the amount of \$412 as his share. The matter was afterwards compromised, and Mr. Wood got off by paying within a few cents of forty dollars. This is only on a par with the rest of Gov. Robinson's transactions. Yet he is a very liberal man with the use of the word liar.

GUTHRIE AND ROBINSON.

The journals of Abelard Guthrie are now in my possession. Some years since, I published some extracts from them. To show the manner in which Robinson treated Guthrie, a few of these extracts are given here:

FRIDAY, 15th October, 1858.—This trouble and all others I have suffered the past year [comes] from over-confidence in C. Robinson, who authorized me to buy lands but leaves me to pay for them—not even coming near me, but avoiding me as if he were afraid of hearing the truth. I have never known such cold-blooded ingratitude before. I have placed unbounded confidence in him, and he has shown as boundless a disregard of honor, gratitude, and honesty.

SATURDAY, 9th April, 1859.—I remarked that the debt was not mine, and I would not pay it. He said he would sue me immediately, and I told him to do so. This note was given for lands bought for C. Robinson and others, and Robinson was to give his note, on which I was to go as security, and my note was to be returned to me. After I had given the note, however, Robinson avoided the fulfillment of his promise, and thus I am held responsible for his debt. I told Smith, Robinson's confidential tool, that I wished to settle this and other matters amicably, but settled they must be; and I am led to believe from Smith's remarks that Robinson will not pay unless compelled, showing that he is a swindler of the worst stamp.

MONDAY, 23d May, 1859.—Went to Quindaro, where I met Charles Robinson. The cool villainy of this man would be incredible, did I not witness such repeated evidences of it. About thirty months ago he left with me \$700 to buy a piece of land for him, and I gave him a receipt for the money. The land belonged to Isaac W. Zane, and lies in Missouri, opposite Quindaro;

the price was \$1400, and he required \$800 in hand; this I paid him, advancing \$100 of my own money, and gave my note for the remaining \$600, payable in one year, Robinson being absent. I had therefore to secure myself by taking the bond for a deed in my own name. To-day, when I saw him in the Q. Co.'s office, his man Chapin presented the bond to me with an assignment written on the back of it, which he requested me to sign. This assignment conveyed all my right to Robinson, and authorized Zane to make him a deed, Robinson remarking at the same time that he would take up my note and close up the whole business, but said nothing of the \$700 receipt or the \$100 advanced! When I mentioned these things he said he had given me credit on the books and probably destroyed my receipt! But the books were examined, and no credit [had been] given! His design was evidently to get the title to the land perfected, to have me pay the note of \$600, and when time should favor, present my receipt and compel me or my estate to pay it also! The \$100 he seemed to consider already safe in his pocket!

After the repeated acts of treachery and ingratitude of which he is guilty, this proposition would seem more like a premeditated insult than the trap of a cunning scoundrel. Yet this is his peculiar plan of operations—he assumes that people will regard him as above suspicion; pretend great ignorance and simplicity in business; to entrust the care of his affairs to others, who have no character to sustain nor reputation to lose; he is in fact a perfect *confidence man*, with a more than ordinary amount of cunning.

WEDNESDAY, 29th June, 1859.—Met C. Robinson, with whom I had some plain talk about the management of the Quindaro Co.'s affairs and about his own acts. He is a thorough villain,—cool, calculating, heartless, ungrateful, and audacious.

II.

ROBINSON AND THE QUANTRILL MASSACRE.

Every Kansan knows the story of this horrible event. Robinson attempts to explain his action on that bloody day. I shall let him tell his own story—weak and pitiable enough, God knows. These extracts are taken from his own book—*The Kansas Conflict*:

For Dr. Robinson the border ruffians had great respect, and when at

Lawrence they had seized the polls and driven all other Free-State men away, on his approach they cried out, "Here comes the Doctor; let him vote," and the way was cleared. Even in the terrible massacre during the Lawrence raid, and when the Doctor slowly retired from his barn to the brow of Mt. Oread, near where several of Quantrill's men were on guard, they did not molest him. There was a certain something, a strange, commanding influence, a presence that neutralized for the time being any power to do him harm.—*Preface, p. xvi.*

Under Governor Carney's administration the retaliatory raids, which Robinson had feared and guarded against as best he could, occurred, including the massacre of one hundred and eighty-three people of Lawrence by Quantrill, August 21, 1863. The border was now under control of volunteer generals and other officers, with Lane as master of ceremonies, although without a commission. It was no secret that an expedition in the border counties of Missouri was preparing to enter Kansas in retaliation for the outrages of Lane and his thieves, yet it was permitted by a Union force of one hundred men to march forty miles to Lawrence, kill nearly two hundred people and burn the town, spending three or four hours at the work of destruction, before Federal officers could straighten out their red tape and join in pursuit. However, after leaving what was left of Lawrence, about three hundred citizens and Federal troops were rallied under Lane and Colonel Plumb, who did escort duty to the one hundred and seventy-five men under Quantrill. They escorted them over the line into Missouri with due consideration, not a gun being fired or a man injured. It should not be inferred, however, that Lane was afraid of blood or opposed to killing people, as afterwards, when Quantrill was not near, he marched through some of the counties of Missouri and made a clean sweep of all he found, whether Union or dis-Union. Quantrill was more considerate than Lane had been, as he told one of his prisoners, taken at the Eldridge House, that he should spare the women from outrage, which Lane in his raids in Missouri did not do. He also said, as Robinson, while Governor, did what he could to preserve peace on the border, he should not molest him or his property. Of this intention Robinson had no knowledge, but both his person and property were spared, although the raiders were within a short distance of him, and in full view, and could have destroyed him and his property without trouble. Had the raid not been for retaliation for similar raids in Missouri, there is no reason why Robinson's property should not have shared the fate of Lane's, nor why he should not have been killed as were others when completely in the power of the raiders.

So great was the shock to the country of this Quantrill retribution that it was necessary something should be done to obscure the delinquencies of the officials, and "General Order No. 11" was issued, depopulating some of the border counties of Missouri. Loyal and disloyal citizens alike had to vacate and leave their homes to the tender mercies of the thieves and despoilers, who left nothing but chimney-stacks as monuments of the desolation in their wake. This order was a most humiliating confession of the utter failure of the war of rapine, permitted, if not encouraged, by the officials at Washington under Lane and his red-leg thieves, whether within or without the ranks of the army. Had the President favored the policy of protecting non-combatants, as the officials of the States of Missouri and Kansas desired, "Order No. 11" would have never been needed, and Quantrill's raid at Lawrence would never have occurred.

It must be borne in mind that the Kansas troops referred to by the general officers and by the writer comprised only a small portion under the control or influence of Lane and his partisans. The large majority of Kansas troops were under control of honorable officers who despised such conduct and would have no share in it. The bulk of Kansas troops made an honorable record, and no State could excel Kansas in the proportion furnished to the army, or show a greater percentage of lost in battle. Kansas may be justly proud of her war record, with these exceptions, and will not fail to confer the highest honors upon her brave warriors.

One other raid, called the "Price raid," menaced Kansas, but General Pleasanton was close in Price's rear, while General Deitzler, in command of about ten thousand of the State militia, Curtis, Blair, Moonlight, and others, met him on the State line. He beat a hasty retreat towards Arkansas, and the war-clouds on the border were dissipated. It has been unfashionable and unpopular to breathe the least criticism of the conduct of the late war, and its officers, from the President down; but the time has passed when it will be deemed honorable warfare to kill and outrage women and children, flocks, herds, and "all that breathe," of the enemy. Non-combatants, whether friends or foes, are entitled to be recognized as human beings; and that officer, whatever his rank, who will use his soldiers to persecute and despoil innocent people is a cowardly brute, and should be held up to the scorn and contempt of civilized people.—*P. 446.*

"Governor Robinson was in town that morning. . . . He was permitted quietly to survey the whole transaction from his barn on the hill-side."—*Dr. Cordley's History of Lawrence, p. 195.*

SPEER'S REPLY.

It is but justice that John Speer — the noblest Roman of them all, who suffered the death of his children and loss of his property on that dreadful day of sack and pillage and blood — should reply to the remarkable admissions, charges and insinuations contained in the foregoing. This reply is from a MS. in the library of the Historical Society:

In this everything in its connection is perverted and every crime justified. No intelligent person who saw them has ever estimated Quantrill's forces at less than 300; but this man, condemned of his fellow-citizens — a man of intellect and of power — ostracized by the people of Kansas for ten years, the most eventful in history, condemned by Abraham Lincoln from the time his administration commenced till his death — soured, discontented, his ambition thwarted — justifying the most damnable massacre in civilized warfare — painted as a saint, a savior, a philanthropist and a statesman by sycophants, . . . a man who assails Senator Plumb as "escorting" that man's own friend "over the border, not a gun being fired or a man injured," boasting that "his person and his property were spared," because "he [Robinson] did what he could to preserve peace on the border," while every man of sense knows that on account of Missouri invasions there was no peace in Kansas for ten years, and no invasion in Missouri for nearly four years before the war. The malignance against Plumb is accounted for in the fact that Plumb was the chairman of the committee in the unanimous indictment of Gov. Robinson by the House, backed by authority, in Robinson's own handwriting, to sell bonds, out of which he escaped on trial by the Senate proving an alibi. The statement about "sparing women" is a charge not necessary to be defended in behalf of Kansas troops; and Robinson's defense of his protector Quantrill on the score can only be accounted for from an unscrupulous man maddened by his thwarted ambitions and crazed in his disgrace. A virtuous woman will almost lose her life before she will speak of such usage. One instance, though: Quantrill's demons entered the house of one of our most estimable citizens; ransacked the bureau, discovered infant's clothes, and fiendishly exclaimed: "You are going to have a baby, eh!" The poor woman shrieked out, in appeals for mercy, an affirmative; and that woman, almost dead, was taken from the scenes of Lawrence horrors, and died in Detroit, Michigan! Robinson says that "afterward [after the Quantrill massacre] when Quantrill was not near, he [Lane]

marched through some of the counties of Missouri, and made a clean sweep of all men found, whether Union or dis-Union." As Lane had no command then, and never went into Missouri with a command more than two days after the raid, and never thereafter entered Missouri with any command or any force whatever prior to the Price raid, it would be interesting to know how fast Quantrill ran to be not near Lane. Lane was only in company with thirty-five men, and not in command, as is stated by Col. John K. Rankin, who lined them up and counted them. If Quantrill was a good man, protecting so good a man as Robinson, why did he want him killed? If Quantrill was a bad man, and Robinson was then and always a leader of men, why did he not go out and kill him himself?

This question of why the murdered people of Lawrence received no protection from Robinson is an interesting one, indeed. Robinson's friends have made several attempts to explain his position on that terrible day, although no enemy of his ever raised a question, till now, about it. He was a mile and a quarter from his home when Quantrill entered town under his eye at daybreak. His organ, the *Lawrence Journal*, explained the situation by saying that "Gov. Robinson owed his life to his habits of early rising," and was out for a morning walk. Rev. Dr. Cordley, in his history of Lawrence, said he was out at his barn to harness his horses. In fact, Robinson lived at the north end of Massachusetts street, opposite where Pierson's mill stands, and his friend, Gen. Deitzler, escaped by being in that house, while Robinson was in his barn about ten rods from the summit of Mt. Oread, just east of the State University, the most eligible point of observation that could have been selected to have viewed that scene of carnage, if he had viewed with the delight of a matador in a Spanish bull-fight. Sidney Clarke, living near the corner of Tennessee and Berkeley streets, half a mile nearer danger, escaped over Mt. Oread. General Lane, a mile north, escaped out of his back window in his night-clothes, and with a pair of pants of a neighbor's too short for him; and with a neighbor's horse, rallied thirty-five men, and with Col. John K. Rankin, a military man who happened to be at home from his command, on a furlough, pursued Quantrill into Missouri, though Col. Rankin and Lane separated five miles from the Missouri line. Accordingly, there was Robinson harnessing his team, stopping and remaining during all that dreadful scene of carnage, pillage and murder, witnessing it with the complacency of a Nero without a fiddle, in hearing of the screams of women, and children, wives, mothers, neighbors, and friends, and he, the great leader of men, whose beck was recognized as a command and obeyed with the alacrity of loyal soldiers. Why did not this hero, born

to command, mount a horse and lead another for some comrade to ride, and flee with the swiftness of the wind, rallying every man from Lawrence to Lecompton, ten miles west, as he could have done, and throw his life into the breach for the protection of human life? What a satisfaction his after-life must have been to him in the knowledge of the fate of many who stood by him through good and evil report. Just think who of his special friends were killed! Robinson was a man whose wealth, shrewdness and ability brought him friends. At the house of Dr. Griswold, Robinson's friend, were Josiah E. Trask, the editor of Robinson's organ; Hon. S. M. Thorp, Senator, previously appointed by Robinson State Superintendent of Instruction; Dr. Griswold, and H. W. Baker, now as then of the house of Ridenour & Baker,—all Robinson's friends; enticed from Griswold's house under the solemn promise of protection, and all shot down in their tracks, all dying except Baker, whose pockets were pilfered and he was left for dead! We must not forget Judge Carpenter, Robinson's friend and candidate for Attorney-General at the next preceding election, who, wounded, with his wife and sister protecting him by their bodies, beseechingly appealed for mercy, their clothing pulled away from his body, as they fired shot after shot into the wounded man. Then there was Edward P. Fitch, the first school teacher in Kansas, Robinson's neighbor in the East, his bosom friend, hired and paid by Robinson to teach that school at the expense of the Emigrant Aid Company; honest, upright, philanthropic Fitch, the friend of mankind, the enemy of nobody—shot down in his house in the presence of his wife and three infant children—his body dragged from the building by his wife, she cursed and rudely flung away from it, and the body thrown back into the flames and consumed—the poor wife seen looking at his photograph with her children around her, and that photograph as the widow and orphans looked at the last semblance of a husband's and a father's face, fiendishly grasped by Robinson's friends, and cast into the flames. Great God! does Robinson say that these were his friends justifiably and honorably retaliating *"within a short distance of him and in full view and could have destroyed him and his property without trouble!"*

Quantrill knew every man of those particular friends of Robinson as well or better than he knew Robinson, and could easier have saved them than to have saved Robinson; for these massacres occurred almost if not exactly under his eye, while Robinson was a mile away. These facts stand patent in all history: That there is a record in the archives of Douglas county, Kansas, of 180 prisoners murdered, after the town was surrendered by military authority; and that in all the history of all the Kansas regiments

there never was the name of a prisoner given by these calumniators of Kansas, who was murdered by authority of a Kansas officer, or with his knowledge, unless they claim that such murder was committed by Col. Jennison, an enemy of Lane, appointed by Gov. Robinson.

I hope I am neither obtrusive nor presumptive in referring to my own personality in the dreadful massacre of Quantrill. Eight years before, I brought through the State of Missouri to Kansas three prattling boys, then aged respectively 11, 9 and 7 years. These children had never afterwards looked across the line of Missouri from Kansas. Neither they nor I had ever injured a Missourian nor a dollar's worth of a Missourian's property. The leaders had each of them orders for our death. Dr. Moore, brother of Hon. H. L. Moore, ex-member of Congress, heard these orders read, as Quantrill halted to read them before entering the city.

God Almighty must have kept Robinson childless, that he might know no parental feeling, when he boasts that he was spared by Quantrill for his honorable character, and I was punished by the death of two of these children,—one burned to ashes, another shot, begging for mercy by asking his slayers to remove him, as they set fire to the building, his pleadings only having the effect to give him another death-shot, and his body only escaping the flames by the fire going out; while the youngest, a mere lad, escaped death by denying his name—a prisoner, abused, insulted, making two efforts to escape, each time buffeted and cursed, and threatened with death, a revolver at his head, escaping at the third effort. Is it in human nature to quietly allow people to represent this man as the only specimen of true manhood known, and these martyr children as deservedly meeting their tragic deaths, and their mother—an anti-slavery woman of Southern parentage—living a life of unexampled sorrow, and dying with a hope against all hope that the lost one in the ruins might have been a captive, to some day return to bless her life?

Robinson pictures two cases as examples justifying this unparalleled massacre: one, the burning of Osceola by Lane; the other, the execution of the Pro-Slavery men on the Pottawatomie.

Lane's action at Osceola consisted in marching into that town in broad daylight, driving armed resisting rebels before him, killing not to exceed eight men in fair battle, and burning the stores and storehouses of rebel supplies,—not a dwelling injured, nor a man, woman or child insulted. John Brown killed five men who had just previously sent him word to leave the State, on penalty of death, all of them desperate men standing ready to massacre every anti-slavery man in the community,—the leader, Allen Wil-

kinson, having been one of the men who led the Pro-Slavery invasion of the 30th of March, 1855, himself thereby elected Representative in the Territorial Legislature, and placed as chairman of the Committee of Enrollment, supervising a law which had seven distinct provisions for the death of any man holding the sentiments of John Brown on slavery. In the vernacular of the Missouri border ruffian, "John Brown got the drop on them." If any "historian" among the professors has ever had a word to say in justification or palliation of John Brown, it has escaped my observation. So far as their expressions go in reference to his conduct and its surroundings, I have seen nothing from them to indicate that Brown had any immediate provocation. A man might do desperate, disreputable deeds, under great provocation, which otherwise would never have occurred. Justice demands a recitation of the surroundings. What were they? Only fifteen days before, an attempt was made, under pretext of a court of summons, to capture Gov. Reeder while acting as an attorney before the John Sherman investigating committee,—the real object to murder him as had been threatened, and at that very hour nobody knew but that he had been murdered. No man can read the diary of Gov. Reeder's escape and know the character of the men in pursuit of him, and believe for a moment that if he had been captured while in disguise as a laborer with an ax on his shoulder he would not have been instantly murdered, and it is no stretch of imagination, in view of what has been done to men branded as "abolitionists," to predict that he might have been burned at the stake. But three days before John Brown's "retaliation," the ruffian Brooks attempted the murder of Senator Sumner at his seat in the halls of the U. S. Senate, from the wounds of which he did not recover for more than a year. Let it stand as it does as history, that all the testimony against John Brown, taken at the time, was by witnesses spirited away from their Kansas abodes, more than sixty miles, and taken before Joseph W. Goforth, a justice of the peace in Westport, Mo., a place where it would have been instant death, as was intended with Gov. Reeder, to ask a single cross-question. On the contrary, in Kansas, the Pro-Slavery party had every opportunity, supported by the U. S. army, for a fair and impartial investigation. Very recently, I asked this question of Hon. James F. Legate, then indicted for treason, and always a conservative man: "Now, Mr. Legate, tell me, after more than forty years since John Brown's actions in the killing of those men, what do you say of its effect?" "It was the best thing that any man could have done. It struck terror into the hearts of the oppressors of Kansas, and taught them a lesson, the most salutary in its effects." "Will you permit me to say so in your name, and stand by that declaration?"

"Proclaim it wherever you please!" and his big fist came down with emphasis. There is a time for everything. The time to be a hero and a philanthropist was then, in John Brown's camp. The time to be a doughface and a sycophant, repeating the ruffian slanders on Kansas, seems to be now. Gov. Robinson (August 30th, 1877,) presided over the great meeting at Osawatomie on the erection of a monument to John Brown, and made a most laudatory speech at Paola on the old hero, following Senator Ingalls as principal orator.

All the testimony taken against John Brown was that expert testimony taken when no opportunity was afforded to cross-examine a single witness. I have no doubt he killed those men, and I am as positively sure, and there is much more testimony against them than against John Brown, that they gave him notice, time after time, that he was to be killed with all his anti-slavery neighbors. Wilkinson, the head man of the murderous gang, had led the invasion and the polluting of the ballot-boxes, March 30th, 1855, and was by that invasion elected a member of the Legislature and was made chairman of the Committee on Enrollment, and was active in formulating that barbarous slave law with seven provisions in it for hanging "abolitionists" — three for not less than ten years in the penitentiary, two for not less than five years, and one for not less than two years; and another provision that "no person who is conscientiously opposed to holding slaves, or who does not admit the right to hold slaves in this Territory, shall sit as a juror on the trial of any prosecutions for any violation of any of the sections of this act."

WHAT MAJOR EDWARDS SAYS.

As a further refutation to Robinson's charge, "They [Lane and Plumb] escorted them over the line into Missouri with due consideration, not a gun being fired or a man injured," I quote from the account of the retreat written by Col. John N. Edwards in his *History of Quantrill and His Men*:

Missouriward from Kansas ten miles the guerrillas halted to rest a little and feed a little. The day's savage work had been exhausting as it had been bloody. Wrought up during all the forenoon to the keenest intensity, the relaxation of the afternoon was beginning to tell upon the men. Before either men or horses had finished eating, the pickets were driven in and the rear pressed to the girth. Todd and Jarrette held it as two lions that had

not broken their fast. Step by step, and fighting at every one, they kept pursuit at arm's-length for ten miles farther. The Federals would not charge. Overwhelming in numbers and capable of enveloping at any moment everything of opposition, they contented themselves with firing at long range and keeping always at about a deadly distance from the rear. The guerrillas, relying principally upon dash and the revolver, felt the need of a charge to get rid of the incessant buzzing of the minie balls which now and then stung them grievously. Todd spoke to Quantrill of the annoyance of the tireless, tenacious pursuit, and Quantrill halted the whole column for a charge. The detachments on either flank had some time since been gathered up, and the men brought face to face with urgent need — turned about quick and dressed up in line handsomely. As Todd came trotting up with the rear guard, he fell in upon the left and Quantrill gave the word. The Federal pursuit had barely time to fire a volley before it was rent in shreds and scattered upon the prairie. The unerring revolver at short range did its work so well that for several hours thereafter the pursuit was more respectful by far and considerably less galling to the guerrillas. That single volley, however — fired in the very midst of the gallop — wounded Noah Webster, Geo. Maddox, Gregg, Peyton Long, Hi George and Allen Parmer, and killed the horses of Todd, Jarrette, Jesse James, and Bill Anderson. Jarrette laid hold upon a mustang pony some comrade was leading, and tried to saddle it for twenty minutes. Serene under the fire of quite a regiment, and determined to succeed in mastering the stubborn animal if he was shot for it, Jarrette lingered and lingered. In addition, he had in the pockets of his McClellan saddle over \$8000 in greenbacks, taken from a Lawrence bank, which he was bringing to Missouri for distribution among the widows and orphans of the war. Try how he would, however, the mustang was more than a match for the guerrilla. He could neither bridle him, saddle him, nor mount him bareback. The Federals were within pistol-shot and the bullets were everywhere. Jarrette, until then unconscious of his danger, or indifferent to it, began to cast his eyes about him for escape. Across the prairie to Quantrill it was at least a mile. Arch Clements had carried Jesse James back, Hicks George had done the same for Todd, and Frank James had taken up Jarrette behind him. Jarrette would not abandon the pony for anybody's help, and there he was — alone, and well-nigh succorless. Aware from the reports of those who had gone forward of Jarrette's desperate extremity, Cole Younger, at the imminent risk of his own life, dashed back to the rescue, took Jarrette up under a distressing fire and regained the column with him, followed by two hundred well-mounted cavalry to within pistol-range of the rear guard, formed to give him a breathing chance.

From behind every hilltop, at the crossing of each creek, from the midst of every belt of timber, Quantrill fought the pursuit, falling back in splendid order and forming again as the country favored, without haste or confusion. At three o'clock in the afternoon Younger and Anderson relieved Todd and Jarrette, fighting equally as well, and holding everything in the hands of stubbornness and defiance.

III.

OPINIONS FROM VARIOUS SOURCES.

The following quotation will serve to show something of how Robinson was regarded as early as 1855:

[*From the Kansas Free State, July 30, 1855.*]

Two weeks since, the *Herald* announced that it would publish the next week a reply to "an assault on the Emigrant Aid Company by one of the editors of this place." We glanced over the *Herald* to see what could be said in reply to the article, but we sought in vain to find any reply to it. We found, however, an article over the signature of C. Robinson, written in a highly malicious and vindictive spirit, evincing a deep-seated hatred, and a cherished maliciousness, coupled with a recklessness of expression only characteristic of the vilest calumniator, charging us with editing a Pro-Slavery paper, "and doing all we can to make Kansas a slave State." Let him ponder well all the horrors of his misdeeds in California, before he would sully the fair fame of us, whom he deeply envies. He smarts under the failure of his swindling operations, when he comes to Kansas and finds that two young men, editors of the *Free State*, know something of the laws regulating the public lands, especially in reference to preëmption claims and town-sites, and that they were instrumental in preventing him from swindling four or five legal claimants out of their valuable claims. Because we did this, he like another person, whose lawless course has been arrested, seeks all the vile means he can to crush us to the earth, and drive us from the Territory. It is well known that he advised and abetted a number of persons last winter in forcibly taking timber from the claims of individuals around the town-site, which was laid off on the legal claims of others. But after a time he and his friends saw so many letters from the hand of the Attorney-General of the United States and Land Commissioner Wilson,

stating so strongly that his course was unlawful, and could not be sanctioned, that his friends became quite small in numbers. Then it was that the town-site matter was satisfactorily settled, Robinson declaring publicly that he would be the last man that would say aught against the arrangement. Yet in his article he says that our friends have obtained their interests by fraud, so little does he regard his word. Some time after the settlement, the deed and most of the other papers connected with the town-site were purloined from the office of Mr. Hutchinson,—the deed by S. N. Wood, and the other papers by some unknown persons,—and a great effort was made to break up the whole arrangement, but it signally failed. No doubt Robinson was connected with it. Now there is another conspiracy on hand, and we have the best evidence that Robinson is the great Catiline of it; though he in all cases lies behind the curtain. Its object is to take from the legal claimants all the lots they have and give them to such persons as have come in lately, and have no right to them whatever. These are a few of the reasons why this man slanders us. He has evinced a design ever since we first saw him on Oread Mount (K. T.) last August, when, after the usual formalities, we mentioned our design to establish the "*Kansas Free State*" in the Territory. It being near dark, he immediately left us all alone to near 12 o'clock in the night, when we caught our horse and went in search of a cabin in which to spend the night. No honorable man would treat a stranger in this manner. He soon determined that our honest face as editor and he could not long exist together harmoniously. We say that ever since this time he has designed to crush us out of the Territory. His aim was that the *Herald of Freedom* should monopolize the printing business in Kansas, and that all other papers should be kept out, and he and his friends industriously circulated the charges that we were Pro-Slavery, before we ever issued a single sheet of the *Free State*, and after he had seen our prospectus posted all over town. These charges of Pro-Slavery first appeared as editorial in the *Herald*. Afterward, S. N. Wood, about to get an interest in the *Tribune*, thought he would contribute his share to get us out of the way by another broadside through its columns; and what is most mean, Robinson pretends to answer some statement about the Aid Company, which we defy any man to prove false, and takes occasion in a column and a half to renew the slanderous charges. As the organ is partially under his control, no doubt he advised Brown that this would be the most effectual means to destroy us. But as Brown soon tired out playing this vile game, Robinson has concluded to take it up. It is a combined system of persecution for the purpose either of making us abandon our enterprise or driving us on the Pro-Slavery side, in

order that the *Herald* may increase its business. But the fools greatly mistake the metal they have to deal with. And we would advise them not to send any more Pro-Slavery men to our office for the purpose of buying us out. We were astonished to find so many applications to purchase from both Free-State and Pro-Slavery men, coming from that quarter; something that exhibits a degree of envy and hatred that we had not even suspected ourselves.

But Robinson pronounces everyone Pro-Slavery who does not subscribe to all his wild notions about slavery, and the way to make Kansas free. The result is, that his followers have dwindled down to about fifty men in the whole Territory. Because most men are about as much opposed to white slavery as they are opposed to black, and will not be slaves to his very peculiar notions about all the various issues of the day. We are very sorry that there should be any division in the ranks of the Free-State men at all, but Robinson, Brown and Wood will have it so, as far as we are concerned. For the moment we lay our shoulder to the wheel and push all we can, they let go all hold and commence cutting our vitals out. Our life is in danger to come near them; so with these envious feelings and absurd fanatical notions, we hold their presence in the Territory as injurious to the cause of freedom as is the presence of Atchison, Stringfellow, and the Rev. Thomas Johnson, and shall treat them all with the same contempt. Robinson and Wood have been connected with nearly every Free-State meeting ever held in Lawrence, and they have killed the whole of them; not one of which has resulted in any permanent organization. So very unpopular are these men that they poison everything they come in contact with. We have heretofore passed those slanderous attacks on our anti-slavery character unnoticed, knowing well that no sane man who had ever seen the *Free State* could believe a word of them. *These slanders are published in the Herald and Freeman, which is a second edition of the Herald, being issued at the office, and these papers are read in a very different locality from that which the Free State is circulated, and we have no doubt but that many persons have, from reading so much vile abuse, formed very erroneous opinions about us and our paper. We are not political editors in the modern sense of the term, therefore our political honesty and integrity are of as much value to us as our private characters, and we repel an attack on the one as quickly and in the same manner as we would that of the other.*

From F. B. Sanborn's Boston literary letter, published in the Springfield (Massachusetts) *Republican*, on the subject of

“Suborned Biographies,” I quote the following estimate of Robinson :

It was such as this that I first saw Charles Robinson, whose character I take to be something like this:

At bottom a thorough Yankee, of the earnest but not the broad type, addicted to moral principle, but not above getting the best of a bargain, and with a fund of envy at his heart which kept him much of the time in jealousies and quarrels with his rivals; at the same time his experience of the world, and a natural prudence, made his way toward fortune and away from martyrdom comparatively easy up to a certain point. Beyond that he could not go in leadership, for neither nature nor training had fitted him to direct bodies of men, or to shape policies, beyond a sort of petty craft that he had, and that had commonly led him astray when great political interests were involved. He was brave enough; yet in the turmoils of Kansas he seldom exposed his life, and as “war Governor” his quarrels with Gen. Lane and others, and his distrust of Lincoln and other superior men, neutralized his patriotism and abilities,—the latter not great but average, and usually guided either by ambition or pecuniary prudence. His good sense and ingrained Yankee turn of mind made him value education and do what he could to promote it, and the State University at Lawrence owes something to him for its success; so, too, does the excellent Indian school near by. Politically he was in every party that existed in Kansas during the forty years he lived there, and while he was often right, he was quite as often obstinately wrong, and usually made his political quarrels personal ones, because with him everything tended sharply to personalities. As a public speaker and writer he was not above mediocrity; and equity and fair play towards an opponent were not his habit. He was violent in partisanship, now on this side, now on the other, and very unguarded in his language; having the easy resource of forgetting what he had said before, and flatly contradicting himself without scruple. Advancing age toned his violence down, perhaps, but, on the other hand, increased his amount of self-esteem, and his political disappointments gave a tinge of bitterness to his vanity which ruined his efforts at historical accuracy. There were many worse men in Kansas, known to me either personally or by repute; but few were less amiable, or less willing to follow the maxim, “Live and let live.” His place in history is so far below John Brown’s that it is idle to compare them; magnanimity, which was Brown’s atmosphere, was an unknown region to Robinson. Lane could rise into it; but he commonly perched much lower down.

The following is the opinion G. W. Brown published of Charles Robinson in 1857. Brown was personally acquainted with him then. I do not know of any other written estimate of Robinson's character so rabid and abusive. And no one has made so many sycophantic estimates of Robinson's holiness since 1857 as G. W. Brown:

[*From the Herald of Freedom, May 16, 1857.*]

BASELY FALSE.

It was stated by Charles Robinson last Friday night, in a public speech on the levee, that we proposed last spring, while a prisoner at Lecompton, to sell out the Free-State party, on condition of our liberation from prison; and that we told him subsequently that we induced *Gov. Shannon* to send to Leavenworth for him, that he — Robinson — would join in the sale and procure his liberation. A baser falsehood was never told by any man, nor one which has so little truth to sustain it.

If we had done as Robinson alleges, we should have been guilty of precisely the same act Robinson was guilty of the year previous, when Shannon's militia was surrounding Lawrence. The difference was, he claims that Lane made Shannon drunk, then he agreed to be subservient to the laws, and Mr. Jones declares even pledged himself to furnish Jones a posse whenever he wished to execute a process against the people of Kansas, and all for the purpose of inducing the Missourians to withdraw their forces from before the town, and not destroy it.

Robinson says we sent for him to take part in the sale. Is it not probable, then, that we had too much conscience in the matter to do the dirty work ourself, but knowing how easy a matter it was for Robinson to make contracts of this character we sent for him on that account? That Robinson is ready at any time to sell out the party, no man who knows all the facts bearing upon his political action the last year can doubt for a moment. We publish over his own signature *to-day* a proposition to "sell out the party." If any man in Kansas has been guilty of a more open and direct effort in that direction, he deserves hooting from the Territory. This subject is an unpleasant one to us, and one we have no desire to follow. Because we thought Robinson had no right to voluntarily assume an office which he had resigned, has all this falsehood and scandal been heaped upon us. If the Free-State party shall suffer by the exposure which shall follow, let the censure rest on him and him only who commenced the assault.

Robinson stated that we assailed him when he resigned. On the contrary, we only mentioned the fact of his resignation in a three-line article, merely announcing the fact, and then we felt we were appropriating more space to the subject than the author was worth.

(The proposition referred to as being over Robinson's signature "to sell out" the Free-State party is a proposition to acting Governor Stanton to take a part in the election of delegates to the Constitutional Convention to be held at *Lecompton*, and signed by C. Robinson, Wm. Hutchinson, Edward Clark, Ephraim Nute, jr., John Hutchinson, G. C. Brackett, E. S. Ladd, C. W. Babcock, G. W. Smith, Geo. E. Earle, Joseph Cracklin, G. Jenkins, G. Emery, John A. Wakefield, and J. A. Finley.

This shows that the desire to vote was then among the people, and that the Free-State men were conscious of their growing power and anxious to make issue at the polls with the Pro-Slavery forces to get hold of the Territorial Government, and that this policy did not originate with G. W. Brown as he claims.—WM. E. C.)

Here are two opinions of Charles Robinson by G. W. Brown. The reader can take his choice. When he reads the second one he can also set his own value on Brown's opinion of the continuance of slavery in the United States:

[*From the Herald of Freedom, May 23, 1857.*]

No true friend of this paper desires to allow such villainous falsehoods as Robinson set on foot to pass without a plump denial; neither do they wish the author of such a malicious statement to escape retribution. While the blow was aimed at us, and we alone suffered, it was well, but when the recoil comes they tremble at the result. *Circumstances* have made *Charles Robinson* conspicuous in Kansas history, and circumstances will consign his memory to oblivion.

In his "Reminiscences of Governor Walker" (1902), G. W. Brown says:

"Without Charles Robinson's hearty coöperation from that time forth, I firmly believe Kansas would be a slave State to-day, with all those new States and Territories lying west and north of here to the Pacific, as well as those at the south which were such at the time of the Great Rebellion."

ROBINSON IN CALIFORNIA.

Robinson condemns John Brown for what he calls opposition to law, but as he was himself resisting the Bogus Laws it is strange why John Brown should alone be singled out for abuse. He is particularly severe on Brown for belief in a *higher law*. Brown is also execrated for opposing established authority in Kansas. Let us see how consistent Robinson is on these points. Robinson went to California in pioneer days, and allied himself there with the enemies of public order and constituted authorities. If John Brown opposed law in Kansas, it was in the interest of humanity, not of himself. Property was Robinson's object — opportunity to obtain the land of J. A. Sutter. I make a few quotations from the *History of California* by Josiah Royce, published in the American Commonwealth Series, by Houghton, Mifflin & Co.

"Dr. Charles Robinson, of Fitchburg, Massachusetts, later so prominent as Governor of Kansas, was especially noteworthy as a squatter leader. . . . Obvious also his wicked and dangerous use in this connection of the then current abstractions about the absolute rights of man and the higher will of God, together with his diabolical activity in resisting the true will of God, which was of course at that time and place simply the good order of California. Every moral force, every force, namely, that worked for the real future prosperity of the new commonwealth, was *ipso facto* against these lawless squatters. . . . The cause of the riot was this: In August, 1850, the squatters were deeply disappointed at an adverse decision in a suit of some importance brought against one of their number. Angry and defiant, they were disposed to take the advice of Dr. Robinson, and to appear in force, and arrived in the streets of Sacramento, and to resist by violence and forthwith all court processes served upon any of them. . . . Only about forty, however, were finally bold enough to follow Dr. Robinson to battle on August 14. . . . Shots were exchanged, three men were killed, one of them a squatter leader, and one the city assessor; and five persons (including Dr. Robinson) were wounded."

Robinson ever holds up to view in his writings the fact that

he was not responsible for any of the trouble in Kansas. All the resistance to bogus laws and the authorities under them are laid at the doors of others. The facts are very clearly and accurately set forth in Mr. Elliott's paper read at the meeting of the "56-ers" in Lawrence in September, 1902, from which I quote:

"What are we? Subjects of Missouri. We come to the celebration of this anniversary with chains clanking about our limbs. We lift to heaven our manacled arms in supplication. Proscribed, outlawed, denounced, we cannot as much as speak the name of liberty, except with prison-walls and halters staring us in the face. . . . "Had you rather Cæsar were living, and die all slaves, than that Cæsar were dead, to live all freemen?" "Who is here so base that would be a bondman?"—*Robinson's Fourth of July Speech, 1855.*

The whole burden of the address, impressed upon his hearers, was that patience was servility, and endurance cowardice.

In the flush of indignation at Governor Reeder's approval of the invasion of the polls from Missouri, by his granting certificates to a majority of the members of the Legislature, an assumed leader, without consultation, sent East for a supply of Sharps rifles—the most effective weapon then known. Though obtained ostensibly to defend against invasion of the polls, the unadvised act was widely deprecated as unnecessary, as it was certain that there would be no further invasion, last of all of Lawrence, unless provoked; and in the hands of the rash and irresponsible element that would be the first to accept them, would lead to conflicts, that from the strained condition existing would involve the whole community.

The sinister significance of the military and declamatory proceedings was made apparent by the knowledge that the usurping legislators, on receiving a majority of their certificates, backed by their legal advisers, had defiantly proclaimed, before Robinson and the other attending Free-State men, who had been sum-

moned to support Reeder, that they would ignore the supplementary election, and give seats to those who had been denied. With his knowledge of this fact, his prompt dispatch for arms is explained — as he has inspired Professor Spring to record — as “the first stroke in the projected scheme of anti-Missouri operations,” to which “Sharps rifles were an absolutely essential preliminary.”

This insurrectionary aspect was more sharply defined by the fact that five years before, the orator had led in a riotous assault against the legal authorities of California, in an attempt to unsettle the land titles in Sacramento, that had been quelled only by bloodshed and death. The story of this adventure, till then but vaguely known, and dimly remembered beyond its confines, was revived, with the personality of the leader magnified, and given renewed circulation — by his adherents, in the way of encouragement; by his opponents, as a warning.

That these premonitions were well grounded is attested by the author of the movement. In his retrospect of the California affair in the “Kansas Conflict” fifty years afterward, recounting approvingly the Sacramento insurrection in all its criminal minuteness, he refers to it as his precedent “on a small scale.” The full significance of this will be grasped, when it is known that this precedent “on a small scale” had for its motive force an autocratic “manifesto,” appealing to the “higher law,” as opposed to the State law of California, and for its purpose the resistance by avowed force, of any “writ of restitution, based on any judgment or decree of any court in the county,” with the ultimatum of martial law, when “the property and lives of those who [should] take the field against [the band] would share the fate of war.

G. W. BROWN.

These statements [slanders of John Brown] are made up on the testimony of G. W. Brown, in the *Herald of Freedom*, in 1859. The witness may be competent, but he is not disinterested. He sustains the same relation to the anti-slavery men of '56 that Judas Iscariot did to the disciples, and is as well qualified to write their history as Judas Iscariot would be to revise the New Testament.—*John J. Ingalls.*

G. W. Brown is and ever was a strange and odd character. He came to Kansas as the result of an arrangement with the Emigrant Aid Company, and admits in his latest book that he could not have come to the Territory and could not have sustained himself after he did come without the assistance of the Company. For many years he denied his connection with the Company in the violent terms commonly used by him. The documentary proof of his relations to the Company will be found herein. He claims to have saved Kansas to freedom, with the assistance of Robinson, and not only Kansas, but all the Union; (see his Walker book, p. 135.) He usually saved Kansas with the aid of both Robinson and Thayer, but as his transactions were principally with Robinson in later years, it is feared Thayer may not get justice at his hands, or at least not be included in future stories and accounts of frightening Governors and army Generals into concessions that saved Kansas. But as the record is capable of indefinite extension in this direction, Thayer may be included in enough instances to satisfy his representatives.

He was always turbulent and in bad repute with his news-

paper neighbors in Kansas. His reputation is fully described in the following quotations from the Territorial press; but a small portion of the record is given; volumes of the same import remain; those presented in the following pages are as mild as I could select, and I preferred them to those of a more violent character. It will be observed that "You lie!" was his ready retort as far back as 1858. Instances could be cited carrying this characteristic to even a remoter day. His contemporaries were spoken of in his paper as perjurers, villains, liars, scoundrels, swindlers, pickpockets, demons, and in other endearing and complimentary terms; and their articles are denominated forgeries, damnable falsehoods, base and villainous lies, depraved calumniations, foul and debased concoctions, and other chaste and elegant productions. With such a spirit of love and good-will pervading his sanctum as the above instances of his genius would indicate, it is not a matter of wonder that he records for us of this generation that he was an apostle of love in the old days when men were rude and times were rough and stormy.

His assertions and allegations are always pitched in the superlative. When he began his second crusade for a holy life in Kansas history-makers, murder was a word too tame for him. Simple murder is almost no crime at all. It must be foul, diabolical, malicious, horrible, bloody, shocking, fiendish murder. It must be gruesome, and boys—mere babes—must be the victims. They must be sleeping innocently on a mother's breast in a peaceful vale where holy quiet reigns. Then, to have John Brown and his men to descend stealthily in the gentle and peaceful and loving times he pictures for us into this community of brotherhood where violence never came and the Golden Rule is

the only law,—to have them come into these Elysian fields at the dead hour of midnight and slay and butcher holy innocence,—that suits G. W. Brown. He will be satisfied with nothing less! If any modification is suggested, he raves and shouts “Murder foul!” “Liar!” “Private life must be holy, for Thayer and Robinson and G. W. Brown were holy!” “Other men must be as good as we or they shall have no credit!” “There *are* no other men as good as we!” “If you have any desire to see fine examples of modern saints, look at me and Eli!” “If you think we don’t fill the bill, just cast your eye on Charley!” It is not unreasonable to expect his next production to have “murder” always in red ink, with death-head before and cross-bones after the word. Recognized forms of speech are too gentle and inexpressive for him.

Perhaps the strongest feature of his character is consistency. In 1857 John Brown is said to have been “noble-minded and generous,” “the mark of tyrants,” actuated from a “sense of duty, and whatever he does he does conscientiously.” This was written almost a year after the Report of the Congressional Committee to investigate the troubles in Kansas was published (published in 1856). Everybody in the Territory who knew anything knew John Brown had led the party that did the killing. That party left the camp of the Free-State men in open day, after announcing its purpose as it made its preparations to depart. Every man there knew its destination and purpose. But G. W. Brown says the matter was denied and concealed, and he, poor innocent man, was deceived! And one of the most pathetic things in all history is the gross manner in which Robinson was “misled” in this matter. That guileless patriot did not discover the deception practiced upon him

by these denials for more than twenty-one years! At that distance from these transactions John Brown was a second Jesus of Nazareth! No writer of Kansas history has, so far, charged Robinson with idiocy, but if we are to believe his expressed reason for changing his opinion of John Brown his idiocy will have to be alleged. When he got over being "misled," and they attended the Old Settlers' Meeting in 1879, the language used towards John Brown by G. W. Brown was the same he had applied to his journalistic contemporaries in Territorial times; which brings us back to the affirmation with which we began this paragraph. And as a further proof of his consistency, it is only necessary to mention the fact that no other man has brought graver charges against Robinson than has G. W. Brown. And that they were still bitter enemies as late as 1879 is established by an incident which occurred at the Meeting of the Old Settlers at Bismarck Grove. G. W. Brown was delivering some address on that occasion, I believe on prohibition, when Robinson called him a "puppy." Brown retorted by calling Robinson a "cur." Knowing of this incident, and seeing what the Territorial press insisted was a strong point in his character, we can form a pretty fair conclusion of the consideration which induced him to take up the pen against John Brown at the instance of Charles Robinson. I have no doubt that it did occur, for one of Robinson's friends related the incident in the presence and hearing of an evening company within the last month.

While consistency is believed the strongest point in the character of this champion of holiness, there may be room for an honest difference of opinion in the matter. A friend writing me recently gave currency to a sentiment which may leave this

particular feature of the controversy in the gravest doubt. He says the most commendable trait of G. W. Brown's character may be expressed in the unexpected praise of an old lady for the devil, when she said all might well imitate his example of perseverance if we avoided his evil course.

THE DEVOTEDNESS OF MRS. BROWN.

[*Herald of Freedom*, June 20, 1857.]—The Free-State press of Kansas was silenced, and for months only an occasional number of the *Kansas Tribune* was seen. Through the prayers and contributions of the noble North, and the devotedness of Mrs. Brown to the cause, on the first of November, 1856, the *Herald of Freedom* again made its appearance.

The devotedness of Mrs. Brown! Thereby hangs a tale. When Brown's press was destroyed in 1856, his wife traveled all over the North, telling of the outrages of the border ruffians and the trials of the Free-State people. She met with a noble and generous response. Through her efforts G. W. Brown soon boasted of 8000 subscribers to the *Herald of Freedom*. Not long after she returned she found herself supplanted in the affections of her husband by a clerk—a lady who worked in the *Herald of Freedom* office. The first great social scandal of Lawrence followed. Mrs. Brown secured some very compromising correspondence, and exhibited it freely. Several people now have copies of it, made at that time. The result was that the wife was kicked out and the lady clerk made the wife. Relatives of the discarded wife live yet in Topeka, and to them it would be like opening an old wound to give all the details of this scandal, and I refrain. G. W. Brown has always held Lane up to public scorn for alleged wrong-doing with women.

It is much to be regretted that the fair history of Kansas must be mixed up with these old private scandals. But G. W.

Brown and Charles Robinson have assailed every Free-State man possible on these very lines. To what depths of depravity would they have the glorious history of Kansas reduced!

UNGOVERNABLE TEMPER.

[*Lawrence Republican*, Oct. 1, 1857.]—The insinuation of Brown is, that the people of Lawrence have been held in check by the troops, and that upon their removal the occasion was seized by some of our citizens to play the part of incendiaries. This insinuation is as absurd as it is vicious and malignant. We presume that the removal of the troops had no more to do with the firing of a house in Franklin, than with *G. W. Brown's* attempt to shoot a young man in this city, after the troops had left it. . . . Would it not be as modest for a man, whose ungovernable passions lead him to attempt the lives of his fellow-men, to first check his own "excesses" before he attempts to implicate honest and innocent men in high crimes?

BROWN'S SYSTEM OF MORALITY.

[*Kansas Free State*, Oct. 22, 1855.]—Mr. Elliott, our partner, on one occasion inquired of Mr. Brown what kind of morality he considered there was in his publishing so many things about us, that he knew to be false. Mr. Brown replied that he considered in this difficulty between us, the end justified the means, and that, therefore, he had a right to use those instruments that would most effectually accomplish the end desired, and consequently, was entitled to publish anything that would most effectually injure us, no matter whether it be true or false.

"YOU LIE!"

[*Lawrence Republican*, May 27, 1858.]—"You lie!" is the quick response to any assertion that displeases the young and vicious tyro whose only moral lessons are gathered from profane idlers who throng the streets. "You lie!" is the ready response that, true to his education and instincts, the overgrown boy Brown makes to our assertion that he furnished the statement as published in the *New York Herald*, that the circulation of his paper was *nearly six thousand* when it was less than *two thousand*. How the vicious practices of youth do follow weak minds, "e'en to the decline of age!" We got our information as published last week, from the

correspondent himself. But this is nothing to denying one's editorials before they are four weeks old. Bad habit that, Brown. Can't you get rid of it?

ABUSE OF COL. PHILLIPS.

[*Lawrence Republican*, Jan. 28, 1857.]—But the most grossly indecent and inhuman portion of the *Herald of Freedom's* attack is its contemptuous allusion to which it terms the “downcast look—reminding the observer of a whipped puppy,” as Mr. Phillips passes along the streets. It is quite probable that Mr. Phillips does look a little less cheerful than usual, for he has recently sustained a sad bereavement in the loss of an only daughter; but we had hardly supposed there was barbarity enough in any human being to thus gloat over the afflictions of another. Alas! we have fallen upon evil times, when the common instincts and sympathies of humanity are lost in the tumult of depraved passions.

ESTIMATE BY ONE WHO KNEW HIM.

[*Free State*, April 7, 1855.]—He is one of those very strange persons who cannot tell the truth. It is impossible for him to do so. Ask him any question about the Territory—about settling Kansas—about his own prospects—and he just cannot utter a word of truth in reply.

He is a great professional liar, and cowardly granny. He is a great humbug, here for the purpose of making money.

G. W. BROWN'S MANHOOD.

[*Lawrence Republican*, Oct. 15, 1857.]—Without a spark of manliness to redeem his cringing—without a pulsation of dignity to relieve his debased humility—without a glimmer of self-respect to cheer the gloom of his apostasy, he stands the impersonation of a cringing sycophant, ready to kiss the foot that would tread upon his own and the people's necks.

“ROOM! ROOM FOR THE LEPER!”

[*Lawrence Republican*, Dec. 31, 1857.]—He [G. W. Brown] has been a bitter enemy of the Free-State party for a long time, and has stabbed it at every opportunity. Fed and fattened on the charity of Republicans at the East, he has played into the hands of their enemies continually, and can now

sit down cheek by jowl with Jno. P. Wood & Co. without a pang of compunctious remorse.

His purse is well filled; he boasts of the finest office and printing establishment west of St. Louis. Whose charity filled his pockets, and bought his press, and built his office? . . . Well, it's the old story of the warmed viper, over again. It is another instance of the treachery which every great and good cause has, at some time, to encounter. But let him pass on. Let him take his rank with the sneerers at "bleeding Kansas." Let him hug to his breast those whose hands are not yet clean from innocent blood; let him enjoy his company, and himself, as well as he can.

"Room! room for the leper!"

HERALD OF FREEDOM AND OTHER DEMOCRATIC PAPERS.

[*Lawrence Republican*, Feb. 4, 1858.]—We notice that the *Herald of Freedom*, *Kansas Leader*, *National Democrat*, and other Democratic papers in the Territory, are characterizing the Free-State party as "*Garrisonian Abolitionists*." This is a mild and stale epithet which the border ruffians wore out long ago, and which the Free-State party can well afford to bear. The freemen of Kansas have heard the mad-dog cry of *Abolitionist! Abolitionist!* until it has ceased to have any terrors whatever. So go ahead, sweet friends! Your invective is complimentary rather than otherwise.

ROBINSON'S OPINION OF BROWN.

Robinson said of G. W. Brown: "He would crawl on his belly to Jerusalem to save his miserable neck." (See the Webb Scrap Book No. 17.)

HON. D. W. WILDER ON BROWN.

November 30, 1879, the *Lawrence Journal* quoted from the St. Joseph *Herald* (at that time edited by D. W. Wilder) the following: "Geo. W. Brown is the same liar and mercenary politician that he was twenty years ago, and the *Lawrence Journal* is hardly to be excused for publishing his venom. Brown hates the cause and the men that he betrayed. He is not

trying to write history, but to make a rogues' gallery of the Kansas pioneers."

FAT JOBS.

[*Lawrence Republican*, March 11, 1858.]—The *Herald of Freedom* and the *Palmetto Kansan*, Frank Marshall's paper, are the only papers in Kansas which receive Government pay in the shape of fat jobs of advertising mail routes. Each of these papers, as is natural, thinks the people of Kansas should submit to the Lecompton Constitution.

BROWN FAVORS LECOMPTON.

[*Lawrence Republican*, March 18, 1858.]—The proposition of the *Herald [of Freedom]* which we felt called upon to denounce was contained in the following: "In the event of the admissions as aforesaid, we say that our policy, and our only reasonable and practical policy, is to take the government under the Lecompton Constitution, *and through it provide for the adoption of a new Constitution for the State of Kansas.*"

ABUSE OF KANSAS SETTLERS.

[*Kansas Free State*, Feb. 7, 1855.]—We feel that justice demands that we should notice a highly abusive article that appeared in the *Herald of Freedom* of the 27th ult., charging the sovereign squatters of this Territory, and the West generally, as being speculators, robbers, pickpockets, and swindlers. We were very much astonished when we read the article, to see that the author was so short-sighted, so ignorant of the character of the Western people, and so uncharitable to a class of people who have ever been placed in the estimation of the American people as second only to the founders of the Republic. He is about the first individual that we ever heard of being so lost to a sense of true merit as to find so much to censure in this highly deserving class, whom our statesmen have always taken delight to honor and praise.

INSANITY OF JOHN BROWN.

In speaking of the trial of John Brown, on page 54, G. W. Brown, says: "Brown's attorneys knew that the 'insanity dodge' had been played for all it was worth; . . . so they

went into court and tried the case on its merits." If this means anything, it alleges that John Brown desired to plead insanity as a defense in his trial at Charlestown, Va. It is so well known that the attorneys desired to plead insanity as a defense for the prisoner and that John Brown would not suffer such plea in his behalf, that the statement would seem to be made with full knowledge that it was wholly untrue.

THE BITTER FRUITS OF UNDUE EXCITEMENT.

[*Kansas Free State*, Oct. 1, 1855.]—As an instance of the foolish publications that tend to injure the cause of freedom in Kansas, and to strike at the very root of its prosperity, we give the following from the *Missouri Democrat*, communicated by the editor of the *Herald of Freedom* of this place:

"How long I shall be an exile I know not. Daily the clouds look more and more portentous. I can hear their thunders. They appear near at hand. The lightnings of their flash are seen along the sky! When the blow comes, if I fall in the fray I pray you find an arm to fill my place. Do not mind the sacrifice or the cost. As long as there is a dollar of means belonging to my estate, I pray it may be used in prosecuting this war.

"I have written to H. J. Mason, Conneautville, Crawford county, Pa., in relation to my business. Should anything befall me and *mine* by which we are incapacitated for wielding the pen or keeping the *Herald of Freedom* afloat, correspond with Mr. Mason, see what can be done, and lose no time in pushing on the *Herald*.

"I have *virtually* received a challenge to-day. It was so intended, but I profess not to understand it. After my next paper is out, I have no doubt I will receive one direct and open. My answer will drive the demons to desperation, as it will appear through the press.

"I do not pretend to appear in the streets without two revolvers and a bowie-knife. Seven men set upon me the other night, and attempted to drive me from my position. If profane words and fists swinging in the air could have accomplished anything, I should have been annihilated. I stood with my hands in my breeches pockets and told them: 'Threaten as long as you please, but don't strike!'—G. W. BROWN."

We are pained to find any Free-State man that has brass enough to publish such false and unfounded statements as the above. It was only done to keep up the excitement in the States, and to make it appear that Brown is a great hero. How long will the people in the States be fooled by such braggadocio? No one is in danger in Lawrence, and especially is the editor of the *Herald* safe. There is no cause whatever for such alarm.

Why, it would be very strange if the very few Pro-Slavery men of this town—not ten in all—should hold us all at bay, to the great terror of the entire population. We shall take good care of Mr. Brown. No one shall injure him, so long as he continues to conduct the *Herald*.

As to the challenge, it was only gotten up by a jovial individual, who was only trying how far he could play upon the unfounded fears of Mr. Brown; and after having his own fun out of him, he let him rest. No one here knows of seven men setting upon Mr. Brown. The incident he referred to occurred in this way. Mr. Brown's horse wandered out on the prairies, and some one took it up and rode it into town. Mr. Brown intimated that he had stolen it, and the individual, under the influence of the "ardent," wished to whip Brown, when there were from fifty to seventy-five of Brown's friends standing around. Every one in Lawrence knows these facts to be true.

THE "TWO EDITIONS" OF MR. BROWN'S NEWSPAPER.

Under title "A first-class cock-and-bull story," Mr. Brown has much to say about my charge that he issued two editions of the *Herald of Freedom*. It will be observed that he does not positively deny the charge. He takes refuge in the bluff of offering \$1000 for a copy of these double editions. As the files of the *Herald of Freedom* in the library of the Kansas Historical Society were not secured for many years after the paper was out of print, there is no way to verify and prove either the truth or falsity of the matter by such files. Mr. Brown says "it was the active imagination of Richard J. Hinton, or J. H. Shimmons, possibly the genius of the two combined, which invented this story." This is the explanation of Mr. Brown in relation to this matter. Colonel Hinton did not come to the Territory until 1856. I submit a few references copied from the *Kansas Free State*, published in Lawrence contemporary with Mr. Brown's paper in 1855. I find nothing about this double edition after 1855. The reader is requested to bear this date in mind. These extracts will serve to show what the

press of that day had to say of this matter. One of the editors of the *Free State*, Hon. R. G. Elliott, is living now in Lawrence, Kansas. Mr. Brown may rave and scream "murderer!" in his frenzied attacks of rabies, but that will scarcely serve in this emergency. The reader can judge of the sufficiency of my authority.

THREE EDITIONS.

[*Free State*, April 7, 1855.]—As a further evidence of his cowardice, he issues three editions of his *Herald*,—one for the Territory, one to sell to Missourians and send his Southern exchanges, and the other all flaming with anti-slavery, to send his Eastern subscribers. The first, or Missouri edition, had not one word about the ticket or election—perfectly neutral as regards slavery, and while selling a number of these to a crowd of Missourians, the cowards told them that he was simply a Free-State man, and that the editors of the *Kansas Free State* were the abolitionists.

THE DOUBLE-HEADED WEATHERCOCK.

[*Kansas Free State*, May 14, 1855.]—Among the many newspaper notices of their ingenious invention we take the following from the *Pittsburg Gazette*. We have seen the thing operate, and can certify that it works admirably. The thing is now on exhibition and can be seen to perform its feats on all favorable occasions. The curious public are invited to examine it:

"We have had placed in our hands two copies of the *Herald of Freedom*, published at Lawrence, Kansas, dated March 31st. We have often heard of politicians who carry two faces, a Northern and a Southern one, but never before of a paper of the same date and issue intended for an Eastern and a Western meridian. The paper is edited by G. W. Brown, formerly of Conneautville, Pa.; and by its name and by its profession has been regarded as one of the most daring of the sentinels now mounted upon the Western watchtower of Freedom. One of these numbers denounces the Missourians as 'mercenaries,' and gives the details of the outrages at the polls with all the expletives necessary to express the honest indignation of a friend of free labor. This was for Eastern circulation. The other number, and which was for home circulation, omitted everything which would grate upon the ear of the fire-eaters of Missouri, and was as tame as any dough-face need be."

UNNECESSARY ALARM.

[*Kansas Free State*, April 7, 1855.]—*It was exceedingly amusing to see how very much some men were alarmed in this place on the day of election. The editor of the Herald was concealed most of the day, until near night;*

then, loaded down with revolvers and bowies, sneaked over to the polls and voted after the Missourians departed. A number of others did not go to the polls at all. There was no danger. Those leaders of the Missourians would not have had a dollar's worth of property destroyed, or any person injured in Kansas. We passed about through the crowd of imported voters, with nothing but a penknife in our pocket, and were pointed out as the editor of the strongest Free-State paper in the Territory, yet no one threatened to molest us. They all treated us in a very gentlemanly manner. . . .

Nothing is so ridiculous and contemptible as the manner in which he is managing the *Herald*. At first he, through fear, and a desire to get more subscribers, got up a very tame, doughfaced paper, or at least those distributed in the Territory were such; we heard it intimated that a different edition was sent East. We noticed him several times, and finally he began to work right in the Free-State ranks, until last week he issued two or three editions,—one for the Missourians, containing no anti-slavery at all, the other for the East, rabid in its denunciations of Pro-Slavery men, and the third for a medium class of thinkers. Such a coward might do in Conneautville, Pennsylvania, but we have but little use for him in the ranks of Freedom, in Kansas. We have suspected these various editions of the same paper for some time, but now we are convinced of their existence, as we have them on our table, procured, enveloped, under the pretense of wishing to send some to Missouri and Massachusetts.

FIRST APRIL FOOL IN LAWRENCE.

[*Kansas Free State*, April 7, 1855.]—The richest thing that ever came off in the way of an April fool took place here on the last Sabbath evening. Mr. Atwood and Mr. Boyer of the *Free-State* office, and Mr. Garrett, of the *Tribune*, concluded that the unnecessary fears of some of the citizens, and especially those of Mr. Brown, should not pass off entirely unfounded, and after getting together, determined "to waive the question" as to the propriety of continuing religious services in such perilous times, and "proceed immediately to develop" the military propensities of the people of Lawrence. Accordingly, they proceeded, about 3 o'clock P. M., down the road toward Westport, about a mile, and wrote the following letter, purporting to come from Mr. Mendenhall, of the Friends' Mission, and gave a messenger a dollar to carry it, in great haste, to Mr. Brown:

FRIENDS' MISSION, 4th Mo., 1st day, 1855.

FRIEND BROWN: A large party of Missourians, camping at Mill Creek last night, got hold of the *second edition* of the *Herald*, read it in camp, and immediately resolved to return to Lawrence, throw thy press into the river,

and hang thee and other prominent Free-State men. The plan is to repair to Hickory Point, and hang Kibbe, and perhaps Goodin and others. I do not know the number, but as they have sent runners to inform the delegations coming in from different parts of the Territory, it must be large — not less than six or seven hundred.

In great haste, thy friend,

R. MENDENHALL.

G. W. BROWN, Lawrence.

Mr. Brown read the letter, and highly excited, marched into a neighbor's house to give the news, and was soon seen with a bell in one hand and a small spy-glass in the other, ringing and looking out for Missourians. After the people had gathered, he commenced haranguing them to rally to the defense of himself, and of the town generally.

He perceived a species of "nice diplomacy" on the part of the Missourians — that two had called at the office late on Saturday night and bought two papers, and by some means got hold of the *second edition* of the *Herald* — and that they would have about time to get to Mill Creek — that the messenger was greatly excited, and started off immediately to Hickory Point; and noticed a number of little things that he had said about Missourians that were "rather imprudent," and concluded that there was no doubt that the report from the enemy was all true. He then exhorted all to stand around him and preserve his life.

Great excitement prevailed; the letter was read and re-read, the churches were dismissed, and a number started out to beat up for volunteers, and every male of twelve years and upwards, all who were able to go forth to war, were impressed into the service. The three typos above mentioned came into town shortly afterwards, very much excited at the news, immediately put down their names as volunteers, and shouldering their guns, were ready to go forth to battle.

Every old gun, pistol and knife was called into requisition, and three military companies were formed and put on drill under experienced commanders. The famous Dr. Robinson was commander-in-chief of the militia forces, and S. N. Wood (who understood the hoax), was Secretary of War. Brown, after getting the forces in order, contented himself in the capacity of private, and was seen in drill, behind a little boy, going through all the evolutions with all the ease and grace of a green volunteer. The sage of Wall Street, in company with another person, proceeded to reconnoiter the Wakarusa bottom. At the usual hour the old soldiers in such campaigns retired to rest, while others kept guard all night. The Commander-in-chief was enraged at the authors of the dispatch, and threatened tar and feathers; but the typos rather think he won't try it. Wonder if he is not waiting

for assistance, in the matter, from the Emigrant Aid Company? Ah! men are very brave when there is no danger.

WANTED EASTERN EMIGRANTS TO VOTE.

[*Kansas Free State*, April 7, 1855.]—We see in the *second edition* of the *Herald of Freedom* of last week, quite a number of slanderous lies about our position at the late election which duty to ourselves demands that we should notice. The cowardly editor of that paper says:

“The editors of the *Free State*, we regret to say, so far forgot their position as to oppose the nomination of the party of freedom. If they are what they profess to be, they will live to see the day when they will rue their recent position. Those who are in favor of making Kansas a free State cannot conscientiously support a paper which labors to produce discord instead of harmony. . . .

“The press should labor to make itself subserve the cause for which it was established. When it ceases to do it it should cease to receive the support of those who by their patronage and pecuniary aid have been instrumental in sustaining it.”

Were we certain that this coward had recovered entirely from his fright when he penned the above and other articles, we should be rather severe. But all who know how he behaved himself, can see that he was still laboring under a species of mental hallucination. There are other palliating circumstances. He is one of those very strange persons who cannot tell the truth. It is impossible for him to do so. Ask him any question about the Territory—about settling Kansas—about his own prospects—and he just cannot utter a word of truth in reply.

Were it not that some might believe what he says, we should, for these two reasons, pass his articles unnoticed.

He is a great professional liar, and a cowardly granny—for these two reasons entirely unfit for the position he occupies, as it is necessary for an editor in Kansas to have high regard for the truth, and a good deal of moral courage. We did not oppose the nomination to one-tenth the extent that Mr. Brown himself did. But we do not blame him, for he had not the sense to know that he was opposing it. We simply stated that the ticket was no union ticket—that it was objectionable to a great many Free-State men. We were merely stating facts, so that our readers in the States could see why the ticket did not command the entire Free-State vote. Our paper was issued the day before the election. We said nothing for or against it, because we knew that everything would be carried by the foreign vote, so that it was useless to drum up every person who had just come into the Territory, who had no right to vote, according to the instructions of the

Governor, as this only afforded the Missourians a better pretext for voting, and makes the election so much harder to contest. The difference between Mr. Brown and ourselves is simply this: He was very boisterous at the convention — acted the part of a dictator to the people, which turned a great many against the ticket — read a long extract about Missourians coming up to vote — told all to be of good cheer, that 300 Eastern emigrants were on their way, and would be on hand election day — called upon all to be at the polls early, so that everything might be right. A Pro-Slavery man who was present, when he heard the 300 emigrants mentioned, said he could beat that 400; and, though near sundown, mounted his mule, and was in Westport the next morning by daylight. This fact and the public announcement, a few evenings previous, that 700 were on their way to Lawrence, accounts for the fact that we were so entirely overpowered by Missourians on the day of the election.

But if the 700 and the 300 ever arrived here, we cannot tell how or where they voted, as there were only 225 votes cast for the ticket put in nomination. This shows conclusively that the fact we stated in regard to the ticket being objectionable to a great many of the settled Free-State voters is true, and, to state the truth, was all we intended to do.

When the polls were opened, neither Brown nor any of his friends were seen near the ground; but along toward night, when a large party of Eastern men arrived, and most of the Missourians had left, he mustered courage, in company with about a hundred, to get over to the polls. This is the manner in which he stood around to see that all was right. *As a further evidence of his cowardice, he issues three editions of his Herald,—one for the Territory, one to sell to Missourians and send his Southern exchanges, and the other all flaming with anti-slavery, to send his Eastern subscribers. The first, or Missouri edition, had not one word about the ticket or the election—perfectly neutral as regards slavery, and while selling a number of these to a crowd of Missourians, the coward told them that he was simply a Free-State man, and that the editors of the Kansas Free State were the abolitionists. This does not accord very well with his statements in his paper that we had turned traitor to the cause. Several other circumstances took place which showed that Brown was unnecessarily afraid.*

We, on the other hand, did not encourage the Eastern emigrants to vote when we were outnumbered, as it only offered a pretext for Missourians to vote illegally. But we mingled among the Missourians, conversed freely with a good many, trying to form acquaintance and learn their plan of operation, and also prevent any outbreak of violence. But for doing this

we were charged with turning over Pro-Slavery. Brown was so afraid that he kept at gunshot distance from all of them. Some of them told us they never saw a man so frightened. They proposed getting a squad of boys with popguns, to guard Brown's office, with orders to fire at any man who came within fifty yards.

Brown is a great humbug, here for the purpose of making money — hence he in two places calls on the friends of freedom no longer to support us but to subscribe and send on two dollars immediately for the Herald. Every sensible man will understand his object.

MR. ROOT'S DENIAL.

Mr. Brown published a letter from Frank A. Root (pp. 153-4) saying:

"I want to say to you that I have never seen inside the cover of that book, [my John Brown.] I was astonished to learn what you wrote and said I was quoted, with Harris as giving the [same] information. I never gave such information to a living soul. I heard it mentioned a few times that such an edition had been printed, but I never knew anything of the kind in the few weeks I was in your employ on composition in the *Herald of Freedom* office. I gave Mr. Connelley to understand that he never received any such information from me, for I never knew it. He said he got the information from some one, but he did not know of whom."

Mr. Brown regards this as the strongest point in his book. I wish to call attention to some things in this most remarkable letter. Mr. Root says, "I want to say to you that I have never seen inside the covers of that book." Would it not have been prudent and fair for him to have *then* looked "inside the covers of that book" to see what I had said?

"I was astounded to learn *what you wrote and said I was quoted with Harris as giving.*" So Mr. Root denies what Mr. Brown "wrote and said," not what I had said in my book, for he admits he did not "look inside the covers."

"Never gave such information to a living soul." Perhaps

not; as it is something Brown "wrote and said," I do not know what Mr. Root said about it to anyone.

"I had heard it mentioned a few times that such an edition had been printed." That is exactly what Mr. Root said to me, and all I said in my *John Brown*, that he or Mr. Harris had told me.

"But I never knew anything of the kind in the few weeks I was in your employ on composition in the *Herald of Freedom* office." It would seem that this is really what Mr. Brown "wrote and said" and what Mr. Root is denying. As I had never made any such claims,—had never said any such thing,—and it being something Mr. Brown "wrote and said," I do not see that the denial has anything whatever to do with what I did say in the book which Mr. Root says he had "never seen inside the covers of."

"I gave Mr. Connelley to understand that he never received any such information from me, for I never knew it." As I have never said or claimed he gave any such information, this sentence would appear superfluous. But Mr. Root did come to see me about this matter, as he says. He said that Mr. Brown had threatened to sue him because of that statement "he wrote and said," and he regretted that I had used his name. Also, that he did not know I intended to publish what he had said to me. He did not show me the letter he had received, and seemed to have no real comprehension of the matter, but was frightened about the law-suit. He seemed afraid his wealth would be seized by Mr. Brown. He did not "give" me to understand anything.

"He said he got the information from some one, but he did not know of whom." That would be an odd statement for any-

one to make who had looked over the newspaper files in the library of the Kansas State Historical Society. At the time it is alleged I made this statement I had copied the charges referred to from the Kansas Territorial press for 1855, the year in which such double editions are said to have been published. Mr. Root was not, I believe, in the Territory then, and could not have known personally about it. He did not say he had personal knowledge of this matter, nor did I say he gave me any such information from personal knowledge.

I believe Mr. Root had no intention to do me any injustice. He was scared by Mr. Brown's threat of law-suits, and did not do what any prudent man should have done before making reply. He should have examined for himself to see what the allegation was, and not have denied what Mr. Brown "wrote and said."

So much for Mr. Root's letter. Mr. Harris was not written to, Mr. Brown informs me. He gave me precisely the same information I obtained from Mr. Root,—that it was common report that in 1855 there were sometimes two editions of the *Herald of Freedom*. And it must not be forgotten that in his later writings Brown tries to place these double editions in 1857, and also to make people believe his paper was mistaken for the Leavenworth *Herald*, which is untrue in both applications. He tried to evade responsibility for giving aid to Buchanan's administration by insisting that the article quoted was written by the Leavenworth *Herald*, but it was conclusively shown that he wrote it and published it in his own paper, but denied it four weeks later. It had no reference whatever to two editions of the *Herald of Freedom*. The article referred to is given herein.

PRIVATE TRIBUNALS.

Chapter 20 of "False Claims" is entitled "Private Tribunals of Justice Not Defensible." This I suppose is to prove that John Brown's action on the Pottawatomie in trying, convicting and executing the ruffians is to be condemned, and that no execution should take place until ordered by a public tribunal. But here as elsewhere, you are not certain where G. W. Brown will lead you. Wait a minute before you take him at his word. On page 156 is the following:

"Perhaps it is well I am not a believer in capital punishment, otherwise there might be a tragic ending to this cock-and-bull story."

What do you think of that from a man who cries out against private tribunals? Does not that look as though G. W. Brown had tried me, found me guilty, and would execute me but for his—what? Not his objection to private tribunals, but his non-belief in capital punishment. He must have written Mr. Root that he, too, was in danger of death; I know he seemed dreadfully frightened. But the author's convictions on this point are as consistent as they are on any other. If there is any question in the heavens or in the earth or in the waters under the earth which he ever discussed without getting on both sides of it, I should like to know what it is. He is almost as bad as Robinson in that respect.

THE KISSING INCIDENT.

"We are glad to note that Connelley gave no credit to the alleged kissing adventure of Old John on his way from jail to the gallows. That was denied by the sheriff and the jailer. The original of that scene was borrowed from Macaulay."—*P. 127.*

"Mr. Connelley, you lost another opportunity in not detailing that incident."—*P. 128.*

Yes, yes, perhaps I did. But let us see who did detail "that

incident." On page 58 of G. W. Brown's "Reminiscences of Old John Brown," published in 1880, I find the following:

"That John Brown had many traits of character which commended him to the admiration of the public, I am well aware. *When on his way to the gallows he stooped and kissed a black child, a poor creature, doomed so far as the world then knew, to a life of toil and bondage.* The incident aroused our tenderest sympathy."

In studying the life of John Brown, I read the above, and knowing G. W. Brown's reputation as a writer, I was satisfied it was untrue. Investigation confirmed my first impression, and proved the story false. It was said in Territorial days that he had two ways of injuring people, one being abuse and the other praise. The latter was said to be by far the most effective. The following extract is in point on that subject:

PROTEST.

[*Lawrence Republican*, April 15, 1858.]—We must enter our serious protest against the underhand and unfair means to which the *Herald of Freedom*, our Administration contemporary, is resorting, for the purpose of killing off Dr. Charles Robinson. It is well known that Brown hates Robinson with an utter and perfect malignity. Brown tried to use him up all last summer by publishing the vilest calumnies about the Doctor. He tried that game for months in succession, but the more he abused Robinson, the better the *people* liked Robinson. They knew there must be something pretty good about the man, or Brown would not traduce him so. Well, finding at last that he could not kill Robinson off in that way, Brown has now gone to *praising* Robinson. Forgetful, or regardless of the fact that he has left in the columns of his paper charges against Robinson, unretracted and unexplained, which, if true, would consign him or any other man to irredeemable infamy, he has now fallen to beslaving Robinson with praise. This is more shrewd. Brown's commendation is fatal to any man in Kansas. It is like a snake's breath — sickening, deadly. Brown has learned this perfectly well, and so, with characteristic cunning, he has opened from his new *masked* battery, on his hated victim. It promises to be far more effectual than his

former mode of attack. Those who were perfectly unmoved as long as Brown libeled and vituperated and maligned Dr. Robinson, are startled and confounded by these puffs and laudations. They do not understand this creature's motive. They do not know that he is doing it to make, if possible, his victim a stench in the nostrils of the people.

Seeing how matters are working, and how Brown was thus poisoning the public mind against one of our most prominent men, we have thought proper to put the people upon their guard. . . . There is one argument that never fails with Brown. We know the money market is tight, but can't somebody raise a *few* dollars and save one of our best men from total destruction?

G. W. BROWN AND THE EMIGRANT AID COMPANY.

Brown complains that I said he came to Kansas in the interest of his own finances; and he always denied vehemently that he came here in the interest of the Emigrant Aid Company.

In a prospectus of that company, printed in Boston by Alfred Mudge & Son, in 1854, setting out the "Plans and Operations of the Emigrant Aid Company," appears the following:

"At the same time, it is desirable that a printing-press be sent out and a weekly newspaper established. This would be the organ of the Company's agents."

Also, the following:

EMIGRANT AID COMPANY.—"HERALD OF FREEDOM."

It was early announced that the Emigrant Aid Company would take the necessary steps for the introduction of the press, and the publication of a paper within the Territory. The Secretary is now enabled to announce that suitable arrangements have been made with G. W. Brown, late proprietor of the *Courier*, published at Conneautville, Pa., and that on or about the first of October next he will commence "at the seat of government of Kansas Territory, an independent weekly newspaper, devoted to the development of the resources of the Great West, and particularly to the interests of Kansas Valley." Every advantage which capital and talent combined can give a paper of this description, will be thrown around it.

Those desirous of subscribing can send their names, direction, and the

amount of their subscription, to Thomas H. Webb, *Secretary of the Emigrant Aid Society, Boston, Mass.* Agents desirous of canvassing any particular State, or a portion of a State, will apply as above for all necessary information.

There is much additional evidence along this line in the early publications, though it would seem this is sufficient to settle the matter. One additional extract is given:

[*Kansas Free State*, March 10, 1855.]—"Mr. Brown, on the other hand, put himself up to the highest bidder, and the Aid Company bid him off."

OFFICE-HOLDING.

G. W. Brown says he and his friends did not desire the offices in Kansas. Let us see. Robinson was Free-State Governor from the first, then Governor of the State one term, though repudiated when his term was but half completed, and defeated at the polls for reëlection. After that he was a standing candidate for thirty years, and in every party and faction in the State, in search of office. S. C. Pomeroy held office until his own corruption defeated him. Perhaps the following will explain why Brown did not want office:

[*Free State*, May 28, 1855.]—At the special election called by Reeder to fill vacancies in the Legislature, G. W. Brown was a candidate. Out of 925 votes cast in his district he received sixteen only,—sixteen!

Eli Thayer was also a candidate until defeated for Congress on a ticket opposed to President Lincoln. Thayer and Robinson were both opposed to Lincoln.

G. W. BROWN'S OPINION OF JOHN BROWN IN 1857.

G. W. Brown has always insisted, since he began to write for Charles Robinson, that John Brown was never a citizen of Kansas; that he came only to fight; that he did not desire to

save Kansas to freedom, but to involve the country in war; that the Browns had no blooded stock in Kansas; that John Brown never had a home in Kansas (he is particularly excitable and rabid on this point); that Brown and his sons were forced to leave Kansas because of the sentiment against them because of the killing on the Pottawatomie; and that no sense of duty ever actuated John Brown.

All these later defamations are refuted by G. W. Brown himself. Almost a year after the killing on the Pottawatomie (and it was always known who did that killing), G. W. Brown visited the Pottawatomie country and wrote the following, which appeared in his *Herald of Freedom* February 7, 1857. No biographer of John Brown has ever claimed more for him than G. W. Brown voluntarily conceded. Please remember that G. W. Brown wrote this himself, after he had gone over the ground and seen for himself that the things he wrote about were true; there was no hearsay. Brown made an examination, and published the result of it.

EDITORIAL JOTTINGS.

POTTAWATOMIE CREEK, Jan. 17th.—In passing south, before coming to Pottawatomie Creek, we passed the ruins of several Free-State houses; amongst them the distinguished Capt. John Brown's and his son's, John Brown, jr., and Jason Brown. These were all intelligent and enterprising men, and came to Kansas to build up homes for themselves, improve the country and save it to freedom.

Old Capt. Brown has been a man of distinction in the East. He was of the firm of Perkins & Brown, in Ohio, who took the premium at the World's Fair in London, and also in New York, on the finest and best wool. They were known throughout the country as importers of the best Spanish, French, and Saxony sheep.

Capt. Brown traveled over Europe, and examined the various woollen manufactories, for the purpose of benefiting the wool-growers and manufacturers in America. In other branches of agriculture he also took leading

premiums. His sons brought with them to Kansas imported stock of Devonshire and Durham cattle.

One of them had established here a fine vineyard, and had in thrifty growth fine varieties of grapes. He also had a nursery of the most choice variety of fruits.

These were not the men to be intimidated or subdued; of course they must be destroyed.

John Brown, jr., was arrested by the U. S. dragoons, for treason, for offering to defend the town of Lawrence on the 21st of May last, and was marched in chains, with several others, for thirty miles, in one of the hottest days in June, without food or water. He was then confined in the U. S. camp for nearly four months without even an indictment against him.

Jason Brown was also arrested, but was afterwards set free.

When the ruffians thought the country was sufficiently safe, by the arrest or expulsion of the Free-State men by the United States forces, they came in great numbers, and overran the country. They burned the houses of the Free-State settlers, among other outrages.

Frederic Brown, a younger brother of John and Jason Brown, was shot in cold blood on the highway by the *Rev. Martin White*, who was acting as an advance guard to the main army, who were advancing stealthily to the destruction of Osawatomie.

Noble-minded and generous men have ever been the mark of tyrants; and so here: this family of Browns, the most patriotic and enterprising of men, have been expelled from Kansas by the U. S. Government, set on by the brutality of Pro-Slavery officials.

John Brown, sr., is a little past middle age, slightly gray, puritanic in his religion and habits, and whatever he does he does conscientiously, from a sense of duty, and, as he expresses it, from the fear and love of God. He is mild and gentle in his manners, and fearless and uncompromising in the discharge of his duty. In losing these men, Kansas loses her most enterprising citizens, and morality her most devoted advocates.

HON. HARRIS STRATTON IN REPLY TO G. W. BROWN.

[*Lawrence Republican*, Feb. 18, 1858.]—*Editors of the Republican*: My attention has been called to a most bitter and ungentlemanly assault upon me, in an editorial in the *Herald of Freedom* of the 13th inst. In accordance with his usual custom, the editor of the *Herald* stoops from the position of a fair and impartial recorder of events, for the purpose of venting his

spleen in personal abuse and misrepresentation. . . . Should such a state of affairs exist [civil war] I fear our *patriotic editor* would again seek safety in flight from the very troubles he had been instrumental in stirring up, and finding when danger threatened that his courage was oozing out at the ends of his fingers, quietly allow *one* of McGhee's negro *slaves** to arrest and deliver him over to the tender care of his enemies, without ever attempting to use in self-defense *one* of the *six* revolvers that he at a certain time had in his pockets. It is singular that brave (?) men — men of great *physical* strength, like the editor of the *Herald* for instance, should, when danger thickens around them, have such urgent business in the States, and show so much anxiety to secure a large supply of "material aid" and that that "*aid*," like the six revolvers, when once in the pocket, would not come forth.

I have no partiality for a political life; but I have too much pride to quietly submit to insults, even from an editor, or for a moment to turn my eyes towards the "*secret fund*" which the present administration so freely uses in Kansas.

FOUR DOLLARS A LINE.

[*Lawrence Republican*, March 11, 1858.]—WHAT THE ADVERTISING OF THE MAIL ROUTES IN THE HERALD OF FREEDOM COSTS THE ADMINISTRATION, AND WHAT KIND OF SERVICE THE HERALD RENDERS IN RETURN.

That Mr. Buchanan understands how to make "judicious use of Government patronage, not only in Washington but also in Kansas, to secure the passage of Lecompton [Constitution], will appear quite evident from the following Washington telegram. This undoubtedly explains the "new policy" of submission to the Lecompton Constitution which the *Herald*

*[G. W. Brown objects to my saying he was captured by a negro slave. There are many authorities to be found supporting that theory of the matter. Mr. Brown has left us different accounts of his capture, as follows :

"Nov. 14, 1857.—I had been a week in custody; had been kidnapped in Missouri."

"Jan. 10, 1857.—The story that we were arrested by a negro was set in circulation by Brewerton and Henry Clay Pate."

"Feb. 11, 1857.—G. W. Brown and Galus Jenkins were taken [in the spring of 1856] from the American Hotel in Kansas City by a mob, and conveyed to Lecompton."

"Feb. 20, 1858.—On the morning of the 14th of May we left the hotel in Kansas City, with Col. Jenkins, of this city, for Lawrence. While on the highway towards Lawrence, and only a mile out from Kansas City, we were stopped by Col. McGhee, and two others, who were armed with muskets, and taken to McGhee's house."

The above quotations are from the *Herald of Freedom* on dates indicated. They are Brown's different versions of his capture; all tell a different tale. The true story of his capture, so far as anything he himself has said, remains as great a mystery as is the identity of the man who struck Billy Patterson.—W. E. C.]

has entered upon, and will be the animus of the future efforts in that direction.

WASHINGTON, Feb. 24.—The *Union* this morning copies from the *Kansas Herald of Freedom* an article denouncing the *N. Y. Tribune*, indorsing Gen. Calhoun and prophesying peace, even if Lecompton be passed. This article cost the Government about \$4 per line, or just \$231, the price paid for advertising mail routes in the paper.

“NAILED FAST.”

[*Lawrence Republican*, March 18, 1858.]—Some duties are unpleasant. It is not always agreeable to show falsehood and deception and treachery in their true colors. It is not always pleasant even to allow a man to demonstrate himself a deliberate falsifier. Such an exhibition shocks the moral sense, and shakes one's faith in humanity. But unpleasant duties are not the less *duties*, and must be performed.

Some weeks ago, the *Herald of Freedom*, shortly after James Buchanan had bestowed upon it a fat job in the shape of mail-route advertising, contained a leading editorial article, making a savage onslaught upon the “*New York Tribune*, and presses of that character,” charging them with being “croakers,” with having injured the material prosperity of the Territory, and with tending to make Kansas a slave State. Confidence was also expressed in Calhoun, that he would “not issue certificates of election to the Pro-Slavery candidates,” etc., etc.

Of course such a precious crumb of comfort for the Administration,—such a prompt return on the capital the President had invested in a Kansas newspaper,—such an efficient weapon to use against the Free-State men, and in favor of Lecompton, would not and did not escape the notice of the Administration. It immediately transferred the article, except one or two closing paragraphs, which in no degree modified or altered its character, to the columns of its own organ, the *Washington Union*, giving the *Herald of Freedom* due credit therefor. Upon the appearance of the article as copied into the *Union*, the Washington correspondent of the *New York Tribune* telegraphed the fact to that paper, giving also the price paid for the article by the Administration—some four dollars a line. The *Tribune* published the dispatch from its correspondent, and, in the *same issue*, republished the *Herald of Freedom's* article, from the *Union*, precisely as it originally appeared in the *Herald of Freedom* of February 13th, italics, errors and all.

In the last issue of the *Herald of Freedom*, its editor thus deals with

this matter. We give his article entire, and ask the careful attention of our readers to it. We have italicized some of its more notable points:

THE FOOLS NOT ALL DEAD.—The *Washington Union* has been copying some articles from the *Leavenworth Herald*, indorsing the *Lecompton Constitution*, and urging its passage through Congress, as the quickest way of settling the Kansas imbroglio, and crediting it to the *Herald of Freedom*. Greeley, with his characteristic desire to strike a blow at the *Herald of Freedom*, published the article from the *Union*, and allows his Washington correspondent to “pitch in” to the *H. of F.* for its Pro-Slavery influence. We exchange with the *New York Tribune*, and that journal has access to our columns every week, but instead of extracting directly from us, from which there would be no error, it copies the falsehoods or forgeries, more properly of the *Union*, and ascribes it to us. Whether Mr. G. designs to be an honest journalist we do not know, but we again protest against the vile means which it is resorting to, to injure our circulation and influence. Though an humble individual, our reputation is as dear to us as it is to other men, and the damnable falsehoods iterated and reiterated so often to our injury, are worthy only of perjurers and villains of the lowest grade.

We ask the *Tribune* to make the correction, else to admit that it has no desire to publish the truth so its position can be understood.

That we have come to be sensitive in the matter, we will state a subscriber in New York, after reading the article in the *N. Y. Tribune*, wrote us immediately that he did not want the *Herald of Freedom* any longer, as he could get Pro-Slavery papers nearer home. All we can say of such a subscriber, is, that he was a fool, or he would never believe, for a moment, such a report, having the paper before him from which he could make the correction in a moment. We are truly glad this fellow has left us, as his name was a disgrace to our books, and calculated to bring reproach on the other names on our books.

The intelligent reader will notice that in this article *Brown* makes the following charges, viz.: That the *Washington Union* has copied “some articles from the *Leavenworth Herald*” and credited “it” (the grammar is *Brown’s* — not ours) to the *Herald of Freedom*, and that Mr. Greeley, “with his characteristic desire to strike a blow at the *Herald of Freedom*,” has copied the same article from the *Union*, and allowed his correspondent to “pitch in to the *H. of F.* for its pro-slavery influence,” when from consulting the *Herald of Freedom*, which is in exchange with the *Tribune*, Mr. Greeley might have known that the article which he had copied from the *Union* was a “falsehood” or “forgery” “more properly” of the *Union*, and not an original article in the *Herald of Freedom*!

We hardly know what to think of these statements — or the man who makes them. Has he forgotten his own editorials? Or did he not examine the *Tribune* to see what the article which it copied was? Does he suppose he can write and print Administration articles and then shirk the

paternity of them in this way? Did he suppose that no one would take the pains to examine a file of the *Herald of Freedom* and identify the article which the *Union* and *Tribune* each quoted? It is hard to suppose that a man would coolly sit down to pen a deliberate falsification. And yet, here is an article which the *Herald of Freedom* published no longer ago than the 13th of last February, as a prominent and leading editorial, and which the *Washington Union* and *New York Tribune* have each correctly copied and credited, but which Mr. Brown now disowns, ascribing it in one paragraph to the *Leavenworth Herald* and in another calling it a "forgery" of the *Washington Union*, and grossly maligns Mr. Greeley because said article was copied into the *Tribune*, and correctly credited to the *Herald of Freedom*! What shall we make of this fellow? The most charitable comment that can be made is to use his own language and say that "the fools are not all dead."

The audacity of his attempted deception is only equalled by its shallowness. He will next deny that there is any such paper as the *Herald of Freedom*, at all.

Does Mr. Brown suppose that he is going to carry on this game of double-dealing any longer, and not be exposed? How gratuitous and shameful his abuse of Mr. Greeley, one of the truest and noblest friends that free Kansas ever had. And then the audacity of the thing; — the man absolutely denies his own article published less than six weeks ago, charges the *Union* with "falsehood and forgery" for copying it, the *Tribune* with a "characteristic desire to strike a blow" in recopying it, and calls one of his own subscribers "fool" for coming to the natural and sensible conclusion that he "could get Pro-Slavery papers nearer home"!

We have said enough. Such an exposure is sad,—is sickening. It reveals a depth and completeness of depravity not often exhibited.

If any reader is anxious to see the article which was copied from the *Herald of Freedom* into the *Union*, and from that into the *Tribune*, he can find it in the issue of the *Herald of Freedom* for Feb. 13, 1858. It is the first article in the second column of the second page, and bears the title of "Croakers Again." The whole article was quoted — *verbatim et literatim et italicatim et erroratim* — down to the paragraph near the close, commencing, "There is no cause for croaking." We would give the article, but we can't lumber our columns with it.

Note the above.

Some day, if life is spared me, I may show how the "press correspondents" falsely represented that I published two editions of the *Herald of Freedom*, one for the Northern market, and one for the Southern; then

as an illustration of the two issues copied a strong *Free-State* editorial from the columns, and quoted an article I had copied from the *Leavenworth Herald*, a violent Pro-Slavery paper, as showing the animus of the Slave-State press. This was made to appear as a leading editorial in the Southern edition of the *Herald of Freedom*.—G. W. Brown, in *Lawrence Daily Journal*, Jan. 11, 1902.

The article to which the above is made a note is the only one I have been able to find in the press of that time in which Brown tries to evade responsibility by pretending that the *Leavenworth Herald* is quoted and the matter credited to the *Herald of Freedom*. It has no reference whatever to the two editions of the *Herald of Freedom*. But on page 156, "False Claims," it is so asserted. The reader must draw his own conclusions as to the fairness, honesty, and credibility of a man who so deliberately attempts to deceive.

WORKING FOR GLORY—AND PAY.

[*Lawrence Republican*, March 25, 1858.]—The *Herald of Freedom* of July 1st, 1855 — at a time, it will be remembered, when its editor was working for glory, according to his subsequent acknowledgment — in referring to the renegades of the North, who sacrificed everything — honor, manliness, and all the virtues which good men possess — that they might gain position with slaveholders, says:

"We look upon no set of men with such detestation, loathing and disgust, as upon those panderers to power which they have frequently witnessed in the North, but which has been exhibited to a far greater extent in Kansas than elsewhere."

With the same kind of vision at the present time, with what degree of "detestation, loathing and disgust" must this "independent" editor regard his immaculate self; for when, either in Kansas or elsewhere, has there been exhibited a more abject "pandering to power" than has been exhibited in Kansas by the editor of the *Herald of Freedom*, since he so publicly, emphatically and unreservedly renounced "working for glory" in favor of his present policy of "working for pay"?

When our friend Jones, of the Ottawa Nation, was recently in Washington, the Postmaster-General, in speaking of advertising the mail routes,

declared that he would not think of bestowing public patronage upon any papers but those which supported the Administration, and remarked that he would be extremely foolish to use it to cut their own throats with. Instead of consulting with our Delegate, Mr. Parrott, he called in Senator Green, of Missouri, who, knowing that Brown worked for *pay*—that for *pay* he would do, as he has done in the past, more for the Administration than an avowedly Pro-Slavery or Democratic publisher could do—that for *pay* he would use his influence covertly and intriguingly to bring the people of Kansas, step by step, to the position of accepting the Lecompton Constitution, organizing a State Government under it, and finally to acquiesce in its full and complete operation over them; and *knowing* that for *pay* he was ready to do any favors of like nature that the Administration might require at his hands, selected the *Herald of Freedom*, as the best investiture to the Administration, of the mail-route advertising in Kansas.

Here is the agreement: The disbursers of public patronage declare they will not give the advertising to those who do not sustain the Administration. Brown gets the advertising—therefore the deduction is that the Administration is satisfied with Brown's "work for pay" in its behalf.

The following, from the *Washington State*, a Pro-Slavery paper that sustains Douglas and his colleagues in their opposition to the Lecompton swindle, shows how the matter is regarded in that quarter:

THE "HERALD OF FREEDOM" AND THE "UNION."—The *Union* republishes an article from the *Herald of Freedom*, the leading Free-State paper in Kansas, and remarks that it will be seen that the *Herald* is getting tired of such "croaking" papers as the *New York Tribune* and other ancient allies of Abolition. We put the article in print, says the *Union*, just to cast over the "happy family" of "Republicans" a single shadow to relieve the otherwise too brilliant features of that delectable household.

The *Union* has recently become quite a sympathizer with the *Herald of Freedom*, and no doubt the latter is getting tired of its old allies—it is more advantageous to be an ally of the *Union*. The *Herald* and the *Union* both publish the advertisements of the Postoffice Department, and there is no reason, under such circumstances, why they should not *now* pull together in the same traces. Heretofore there has been but a slight difference in the positions of the *Union* and the *Herald* on the Kansas question.

The *Herald* now rather gives in to the *Union*, but whether an entire conversion to the *Union's* doctrine has been brought about by the *Union's* arguments, or the Postoffice Department advertisements, we are not informed.

HOW HE OBTAINED SUBSCRIBERS.

[*Lawrence Republican*, April 1, 1858.]—"Six hundred new subscriptions were received during our absence. Names of the best and most prominent

men in the Territory are among the number. These have all been obtained by the efforts of a *single individual*, except so far as persons in various localities have been prompted by the interest they felt in sustaining the *Herald*, to assist in securing names. We are not at liberty to *mention the name* of the person who handed in this new list."

Thus begins the leading editorial of the *Herald* of last week. The most important idea is that of receiving six hundred new subscribers within the short space of a two-weeks trip to "the Neosho and Cottonwood," and to the uninitiated would under ordinary circumstances bespeak most unbounded prosperity and popularity on the part of our neighbor since he has become the recipient of Administration favors. Lest some should attribute this windfall to the *Herald's* prestige as the leading Administration organ in Kansas, we will say a few words by way of explanation. About two months since, the nervous system of the editor of the *Herald* became very much shattered, to such a lamentable degree, indeed, that he advertised editorially his establishment for sale. Written propositions were submitted to Messrs. Ross, of Topeka, who upon consideration accepted them in full. In the meantime, some old-time political doctors examined the nervous system of the *Herald* establishment, and determined that rather than lose their only organ, they would undertake the task of restoring to it sufficient vigor to keep it running. The lifeblood of the concern — that circulative medium generally called money — was at its lowest ebb, and a grand council of prominent physicians being held, it was determined that the case, though extremely doubtful, was not entirely hopeless, and that a last desperate effort should be made for its recovery. Government pap was offered in allopathic doses, by way of nourishment, and the effect was gratifying. One of their number, the *single individual* referred to, was delegated to travel the Territory and solicit substantial nourishment from political friends. The shattered remains of the editor were assured in this way that the electric chink of some hundreds or thousands of little electric coins would restore them to wholeness and soundness. In payment for this cure, when effected, those contributors to said editor's relief, *who exacted it*, were to receive a compensation in the *Herald of Freedom* at the regular rates. In this way six hundred copies were exacted — "six hundred new subscriptions" were received.

The recovered *Herald* man need not have felt any delicacy about mentioning the *name* of this *single individual*. It is generally known through our community and through Kansas. We have heard of him in different parts of the Territory, soliciting contributions of political friends, on political grounds, for several weeks past. The political doctors "had agreed to find one hundred persons who would contribute ten dollars each" he would say.

then produce the list, adding "that a number of *prominent* men had subscribed who did not wish their names to appear."

There is nothing like having zealous and active political or religious friends and supporters. The *Herald of Freedom*, a few months ago boasting "nearly eight thousand subscribers," was on its last legs. It was being published at a loss, and its friends had either to make it pay, or it was to wind up. Notwithstanding the extreme hardness of the times, about one thousand dollars have been raised for its relief.

JAMES BLOOD.

I am taken to task for the criticism I make of the letter of one James Blood, who wrote to fit the case when he and others were heaping abuse on John Brown. I quote the letter and my comments as published in my *John Brown*, and request the reader to draw his own conclusion as to the reliability of Blood as a witness. Col. Blood says:

"In the spring of 1856 I went East on business, leaving my family in Lawrence. I was in New Hampshire, when I learned that the border ruffians were gathering, under ruffianly Federal officers, to destroy Lawrence. I immediately started home, arriving at Kansas City, I think on the 21st of May, 1856. I could find no way of getting to Lawrence, direct, but hired a closed hack to take me, with two or three friends (one of them was J. F. Bliss, now residing at Oskaloosa), to Osawatomie. We instructed the driver to say to anyone who might halt us, that he was taking some men to Pleasant Hill, Missouri. We drove south through Westport, and the parties halting us appeared to be satisfied with the reply of the driver. We stayed that night at a farm-house in Missouri, a short distance south of Westport. The next day, the 22d, we took dinner with Baptiste Peoria, where Paola now stands, and arrived at Osawatomie in the afternoon. . . . It was nearly sundown that afternoon when, between Pottawatomie creek and Middle creek, and but a few miles from the Doyle settlement, I saw a party of men coming from the west and going towards Pottawatomie creek. As we approached each other I could see the gleam of the sun's rays reflected from the moving gun-barrels of the party in the wagon. When within perhaps 100 yards they stopped, and a man rose up in the wagon and cried 'Halt!' I immediately recognized old John Brown, and stated who I was, calling him by name. I was then allowed to approach the party. There were in the wagon

John Brown and, to the best of my recollection, four of his sons, his son-in-law, and a man driving the team whom I did not know, making seven in the wagon. There was also a man on horseback; I think his name was Wymer, or Winer.

"The party appeared to be fully armed with rifles, revolvers, knives, or swords. I think some of them at least had a peculiar instrument, something like a Scotch claymore, or a short, very heavy broadsword. John Brown had presented me with one of the same kind, while at Lawrence, during the Wakarusa war, in the fall of 1855.

"I talked with the old man for some time. I believe he was the only one of the party who spoke. He stated they had left Captain John Brown, jr., with the Pottawatomie company, in camp near Palmyra. He informed me that Lawrence had been sacked and burned, and that a number of leading Free-State men had been taken prisoners. He seemed very indignant that there had been no resistance; that Lawrence was not defended; and denounced the members of the committee and leading Free-State men as cowards, or worse. His manner was wild and frenzied, and the whole party watched with excited eagerness every word and motion of the old man. Finally, as I left them, he requested me not to mention the fact that I had met them, as they were on a *secret expedition*, and did not want anyone to know that they were in that neighborhood. . . .

"I sincerely believed that it was the work of insane men. Their halting at that distance a solitary traveler, who was apparently unarmed, and upon the open prairie where they could see for miles around, seemed to me evidence of insanity. Certainly that number of so well-armed men could not fear an assault and capture, or that they were in any immediate danger. I noticed that while we were in conversation the boys watched every look and gesture of the old man — keeping their guns in their hands ready for instant action."

Strange statements! No one else has left any statement of John Brown's becoming "frenzied." Colonel Washington told Governor Wise that Brown was the coolest man he ever saw under fire. He may have had good cause to denounce the committee, for it is recorded that the men who had gathered at Lawrence to defend the town left in disgust when the committee announced that no resistance was to be made. (See twentieth chapter of *The Conquest of Kansas*, by Phillips.) If there is

any reliance at all to be placed in this letter, it convicts Townsley of lying. Blood says that Brown announced to him that they were on a *secret expedition*. Townsley says that he did not know the nature of the expedition, whether it was secret or not, until Brown made it known to him in camp that night. The letter contains what was known at the time of writing to be a very erroneous statement. It says that John Brown's son, John Brown, jr., became insane, when, *on the afternoon of the 24th*, "news was received of the massacre," and that he "was taken home the next day a maniac." It says, "We heard of the massacre of the Doyles, Wilkinson, and Sherman, on the Pottawatomie, *on the night of the 23d.*" The killing was in fact done on the night of the 24th, after John Brown, jr., was made insane from hearing it! Upon such contradictory and unreliable, not to say flimsy and untrustworthy, productions is the defamation of John Brown based. Colonel Blood may have met this party as he says, but his letter bears many evidences of having been written to incorporate and set out the theories of the people engaged at that time in a bitter attack upon Brown.

Colonel Blood's statement concerning the action of the men in keeping their guns ready for instant action would indicate that he frightened the party! No other Kansan ever saw Brown scared. To Colonel Blood belongs the honor of being the only man who ever frightened John Brown! And Colonel Blood had slipped down through Missouri pretending to be on his way to Pleasant Hill, and was now making his way into Lawrence by the back door for fear of meeting Missourians, and John Brown had seven armed men with him. Truly, the brave Colonel must have presented the very personification of courage and daring on his fleet steed as he skimmed over the prairies north of the Pottawatomie!

THE NEW ENGLAND EMIGRANT AID CO.

In the "False Claims" I am soundly berated for not worshipping the Emigrant Aid Company. That Company was a perfectly legitimate enterprise, and accomplished some good indirectly for the cause of freedom in Kansas,—as much as could be expected. It was organized for speculative purposes. Making Kansas a free State was incidental in its design, and was an issue used principally to induce people to subscribe for stock and contribute money. Large dividends for the stockholders constituted the main purpose. It never paid the fare of a single emigrant to Kansas, it is claimed.

No one can object to the purposes of the company. But I believe the presence in Kansas of emigrant aid companies, whether from North or South, was often the cause of trouble in Territorial days. The chief objection to the Emigrant Aid Company is not to what it accomplished, but the claims now made for it by Thayer and others, who, in their writings on the subject, insist it was a purely benevolent and philanthropic institution, with the freedom of Kansas as its sole aim. I object to the false colors hoisted over the hulk of the institution in later days. Without hesitation and as plainly as I could write it, I gave credit to this Aid Company, and to Eli Thayer, for whatever of good they accomplished here. Perhaps future historians will cut down the generous estimate I have allowed them. History-writing in Kansas was, in the beginning, largely biographical and personal; it is too much so now. And the victor always

writes the history of the country in which he prevails. So far, the vanquished have not been heard; but they must be heard before a fair and impartial general history of the State can be written.

In an article on the Big Springs Convention, written by Hon. R. G. Elliott, read before the meeting of the "56-ers" in Lawrence, September 13, and published in the *Lawrence Weekly Journal*, September 27, October 4, and October 11, 1902, is the best statement of order of events in the development of Kansas history I have seen. I quote from that paper:

The order of statehood development was:

1. Natural inflow of migration.
2. Organization of the political forces at Big Springs.
3. Adjusting themselves to changed conditions at Grasshopper Falls.
4. Assumption of legislative authority at the October election of 1857.
5. Perfecting its development in the Wyandotte convention.

Other movements were experimental, subsidiary.

The prevailing theory, however, that upon which Kansas history has been written, is:

Organized repudiation of the Territorial Government.

Organization of an experimental independent State Government.

The blending of the Topeka State Government through the agency of its executive, with the reformed Territorial organization.

The anti-slavery element was the deposit of a steady flow of population that was annually bearing westward on its tide the material for the peopling of a State. From the States of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Iowa, and Missouri, the hives of pioneers, as shown by the Federal census of that period, was an average annual migration of 70,000; an army as the locusts, without leaders — moving by instinct, under a fixed law, westward by States, impelled by a crowding population, augmented by 300,000 foreigners pressing upon them.

The language objected to in my *John Brown* by the followers of Robinson is as follows:

It is not meant to disparage Mr. Thayer's labor for Kansas. He rendered us good service in our days of trouble and peril; and those days were

days of peril for freedom in all America. Mr. Thayer did his duty, and did it well and to our satisfaction; we are grateful for it; as a people we have never failed to acknowledge our debt of gratitude, and we never shall. He possessed a genius for the work performed, and perhaps did his work better than another could; he was the right man in the right place. He possessed organizing power, and had the confidence of the people of New England who so freely and nobly poured out their wealth in aid of Kansas and free institutions. What is to be condemned in Mr. Thayer's book is the assumption in it that he did *all* the work that made Kansas free — his taking credit for everything successfully done here. What he did was, as we said, only his duty; he did that in a spirit of self-sacrifice that makes him immortal here and elsewhere. That should be the sum of his claims, but it is not. After a careful reading of Mr. Thayer's book one must come to the conclusion that after the war was over he was enabled to see what had been successful in Kansas and what had been unsuccessful; and then, with effrontery unparalleled, claimed all the successful efforts as his own, or as the outgrowth of his scheme, and left all the failures to the rest of mankind. This is more in the spirit and pompous tone of the book than in specific claim, though there is much of that. Now, Kansas would have been made free had there been no Eli Thayer and no Emigrant Aid Company. It might have been in longer time, and in more suffering; although the organization of the Emigrant Aid Company enraged the South more than any other one thing, and many of the crimes committed against Kansas were inspired by hatred of it. Slavery would have been thrown off without the martyrdom of John Brown, and if John Brown had never been born. But Kansas *was* made free by the assistance of Eli Thayer, as well as by that of John Brown; and slavery *was* abolished by the assistance of John Brown as well as by that of Eli Thayer, though Thayer contributed much less towards the result than did Brown. The fate of universal freedom has never been in the keeping of any one man. Progress and advancement are inherent in mankind, and while many reactionary movements impede and hamper them, the work never stops for a moment. Carlyle has well said that nothing else than justice can survive in this world.

Neither is it intended here to detract from any State in the work of making Kansas free. Senator Ingalls says that Kansas is the child of Massachusetts, and so she is — a little; she is much more the child of the Ohio Valley. This is so patent to all who make even a cursory investigation of the subject, that no argument is necessary to establish it. In the convention which formed the present State Constitution, in 1859, there were two members from Massachusetts, and only eleven from all New England. There

were five members from Kentucky, six from Indiana, six from Pennsylvania, and fourteen from Ohio. Concerning the population of that period, I quote from D. W. Wilder's "The Story of Kansas," in the *Kansas Historical Collections*, Volume 6, page 336, and following:

"By the United States census taken in June, 1860, Kansas had a population of 107,206. Of these persons, 94,515 were born in the United States; 12,691 were born in foreign countries. The census reports give the States in which the 94,515 natives were born. During the last forty years Ohio has led in great generals — Grant, Sheridan, Sherman; in Presidents, and in many other ways,— but she took her first great championship in coming to Kansas Territory. By that census Ohio stands No. 1, with 11,617 natives in Kansas in 1860. Missouri follows, with 11,356. Then come the babies born in Kansas itself, 10,997. Gen. James H. Lane helped to put next Indiana, with 9,945. Lincoln next sends from Illinois, 9,367. His native State is No. 6. Kentucky, 6,556. Then comes Franklin's Pennsylvania, 6,463. Horace Greeley's *Tribune* makes New York 6,331. No. 9 is our neighbor, Iowa, 4,008. Kansas is sometimes called, from the States of Indiana, Illinois, and Iowa, the State of the three I's. Most folks are satisfied with two.

"I have named 76,640 out of the 94,515, leaving 17,875 for the other States, and someone is beginning to say, 'I thought this was a New England State,' and 'Where is the Emigrant Aid Company?' From the days of the agitation against slavery and its extension, in which New England took a prominent part—it was the home of Garrison, Phillips, Sumner, Parker, Emerson, Lowell, and Whittier—down to this day, New England has often been called the Mother of Kansas. Exceedingly few persons ever examine a census report.

"The last State above cited is Iowa, with 4,008 natives in Kansas when the Territory was six years old. The six New England States then had 4,208 natives in Kansas. State No. 10 is Virginia, with 3,487 natives here. Virginia then included West Virginia. Most of these immigrants were probably in favor of making Kansas a free State.

"There was then no railroad across Missouri. But nearly all of the States that contributed largely to Kansas in the early and later years were connected with us by river navigation. These States were Pennsylvania, Ohio, Virginia, Kentucky, Tennessee, Indiana, Illinois, Arkansas, Missouri, and Iowa. These States and their rivers made Kansas. These States with their poor men who wanted homes in a free State, with free schools, made Kansas free. I will add a few names to that census list. No. 11 is Tennessee, 2,569; No. 12, Wisconsin, 1,351; No. 13, Massachusetts, 1,282; No. 14, North Carolina, 1,234; No. 15, Michigan, 1,137; No. 16, Vermont, 902; No. 17, Maine, 728; No. 18, Connecticut, 650; No. 19, Maryland, 620; No. 20, New Jersey, 499.

"The story is told. You see that the new State, farther south than any other free State, was settled by the North. Missouri, her nearest neighbor, was settled by the South. Kansas broke all precedents; its people could not have been free without standing up to shoot and be shot at. Slavery was a

wild beast, and had to be killed. John Brown understood this fact more completely than any other Kansan."

Kansas claims, and justly claims, to have drawn by her struggle for freedom, great men and minds from all the free States and from some of the slave States. These were quickened and ground to sharpness here, and the result is the most cosmopolitan and aggressive State in America. And the honor of having contributed to make her free is great — too great for any one man to have more than his just share; justice demands that he have that, and that he have no more.

It is desirable to notice what is claimed for the Aid Company in 1887, by Robinson, and what Thayer claimed for it in 1856. In a letter to Joseph A. Howland, of Worcester, Mass., in 1887, Robinson said: "During the critical period Kansas Territory was all Pro-Slavery except Lawrence, Topeka, Manhattan, Osawatomie, and Wabaunsee; and all the towns, except perhaps the last, were settled under the auspices of the New England Emigrant Aid Society."

Observe what is here claimed. "Kansas Territory was *all* Pro-Slavery except" the towns mentioned. Truly, a deplorable condition! Five little towns are Free-State. Pro-Slavery hordes surge up to the very gates of each. All the settlers on farms and claims are Pro-Slavery! Of course there is no truth whatever in the statement. As G. W. Brown is the high-priest of the conspiracy he may interpret this claim and tell us what Robinson meant. There were Free-State men in a hundred other towns who were fighting for freedom in Kansas during the "critical period," and the settlers on claims and farms were Free-State by a large majority from the very first. The statement was put in that form to make the work of the Aid Company appear of some magnitude. In the report of the Congressional Committee published in 1856, Eli Thayer makes a statement (see the following quotation therefrom) of what the company

then was doing and had done. He also tells what towns had been settled by it during the "critical period." Is it not a pitiable showing for the sum of \$100,000? "We also erected, and *prepared to erect*, mills in the Territory at different places, some eight or ten of them. The company, I think, had one other building in Lawrence." It was so insignificant that he was compelled to add, "but I do not now recollect what it is." "The company laid out no towns, and had no interest in laying out any." Quite a difference in the schedules in 1856 and 1887!

Eli Thayer has much to say about saw-mills in his book; one would think from what he says there was an Aid Company saw-mill in every township in the Territory. Much of the saving of Kansas is attributed to these Aid Company saw-mills. When it comes down to the truth, "we erected, and *prepared to erect*, eight or ten." It reminds one of the story of the man who saw a million squirrels at one time, but when pressed to the wall on his exaggeration insisted that he *did* see a branch shake and supposed there was a squirrel there; and refused to come down another notch. The quotation from Thayer is as follows:

"We also erected, and prepared to erect, mills in the Territory at different places, some eight or ten of them. The company, I think, had one other building in Lawrence, but I do not now recollect what it is. Some temporary sheds were also erected by the company for the accommodation of emigrants there until they could erect buildings of their own. These were the only buildings that the Emigrant Aid Society ever were interested in. The total expenditures of the company, for all purposes, since its organization, have been less than \$100,000. The company had no interest whatever in the residence occupied by Dr. Charles Robinson.

"The company laid out no towns, and had no interest in laying out any. The towns were laid out by the settlers themselves, in some cases the settlers making some arrangements to give the company certain lots to induce us to make investments there, and thus aid in building up the place. This was the case with the town association of Lawrence. The town association would have given similar advantages to any person or company of men who would

have made improvements. Other offers were made to us to induce similar investments in other settlements, some of which we were not able to accept for lack of means. It was by means of these investments that the company expected to be reimbursed for what they expended. No other investments were made by this society in the Territory, except those I have stated."—*Report Congressional Committee*, p. 885.

As a good description of the conditions in Kansas rural communities at that time, I quote from the paper of Hon. R. G. Elliott, hereinbefore referred to:

"Though, in this inflow, the Free-State element largely predominated with increasing ratio, it was not bound together by any political affinities, but was an aggregation of home-seekers, drawn from a wide range, mainly of rural life, representing every phase of political opinion and shade of belief, strangers to each other, and spread over a wide expanse of territory; without mail facilities; with limited business relations and social intercourse; fastened to the soil by necessity of subsistence, and held to their homes for the support of their families; they were unfitted for the organization of an aggressive movement. But their fixity and inertia fitted them admirably for an army of stubborn occupation."

G. W. Brown says Thayer traveled 60,000 miles at his own expense, and made other great sacrifices for Kansas. Mr. Brown's statement is untrue or the books of the Company now in the Kansas Historical Society are false. They show that Thayer charged the Company for his expenses, which was all right if only the truth could be told about it. The books show other things some of Thayer's friends ought to examine before making additional claims.

Prof. William H. Carruth, of the University of Kansas, wrote a very fine paper on the Emigrant Aid Company. It was published in Vol. 6, p. 90, *Kansas Historical Collections*. I take the following quotation from it:

"Mr. Thayer's plan was an epitome of Yankee characteristics — thrift, and devotion to principle. He did not propose to win Kansas with hirelings,

but to show the natural aggressiveness of the Yankee an outlet for his energy at once honorable and profitable. And thus, also, the company he proposed was not to be a charitable labor entirely, as religious missionary societies mostly are; but he asked, Why is it worse for a company to make money by extending Christianity, or suppressing slavery, than by making cotton cloth? The company which he planned was intended to be an investment company, giving and taking advantages with those whom it induced to go to Kansas, *and incidentally crippling slavery*. . . . While the Aid Company must be credited for something of the high tone of the New England emigrants, it is a common error to suppose that these emigrants came to Kansas expecting to win martyrs' crowns. I have questioned many of them as to their motives, and the uniform answer has been: 'We came to Kansas to better our condition, *incidentally expecting to make it a free State*. We knew we took some risks; but if we had foreseen the struggles and hardships we actually underwent, we never should have gone.'

To show just what was proposed by the Aid Company, I quote from its prospectus issued by its Secretary in 1854:

"In return for these advantages, which the Company's rapid and simple effort affords to the emigrants and to the country, its stockholders receive that satisfaction, ranked by Lord Bacon among the very highest, of becoming founders of States, and more than this,—States which are prosperous and free. They secure more satisfaction by an investment which promises large returns at no distant day.

"Under the plan proposed, it will be but two or three years before the Company can dispose of its property in the Territory first occupied—and reimburse itself for its expenses. At that time,—in a State of 70,000 inhabitants, it will possess several reservations of 640 acres each,—on which its boarding-houses and mills stand,—and the churches and school-houses which it has rendered necessary. From these centers will the settlements of the State have radiated. In other words, these points will then be the large commercial positions of the new State. If there were only one such,—its value, after the region should be so far peopled, would make a very large dividend to the Company which sold it, besides restoring its original capital, with which to enable it to attempt the same adventure elsewhere. . . .

"It is recommended that the Company's agents locate, and take up for the Company's benefit, the sections of land in which the boarding-houses and mills are located,—and no others. And further, that whenever the Terri-

tory shall be organized as a free State, the Trustees shall dispose of all its interests there, replace by the sales the money laid out, declare a dividend to the stockholders; and that they then select a new field, and make similar arrangements for the settlement and organization of another free State of this Union."

QUALIFICATIONS FOR PIONEERS OF THE PEOPLE SENT OUT BY THE AID COMPANY.

Many of the people who came to Kansas under the auspices of the Aid Company were not desirable settlers for a new country. Some of them were very desirable, and became prominent in public affairs. A large percentage returned to New England. In some instances the trade or profession of the emigrant is given. In the company record I find the following mentioned: hair-dresser, caulker, jeweler, tinman, machinist, varnisher, watchmaker, spar-maker, weaver, designer, broker, printer, spinner, sailor, ship-master, factory operatives, teacher, blacksmith, carpenter, farmer, and bricklayer. There was work in Kansas for the farmer, teacher, bricklayer, carpenter, printer, and blacksmith; and little or none for the others unless they could turn their hands to something different from their former occupations. As showing the results of inducing many persons to come to Kansas who had no qualifications as pioneers, I quote from recognized authorities:

[*Free State*, Oct. 29, 1855.]—Emigrants are arriving in large numbers. It is curious to note the different characters of persons who come to Kansas. When we are out on the road, and see a hack with two or four horses to it, we will say at once that there is a crowd of "Yankees." But if we see two or three ox teams, and a lot of boys and girls running after the wagons, we can "bet high" on that being a Western train. They are thus prepared to go when they please and come when they please, so that there is no danger of them ever becoming discouraged. Not so with Eastern emigrants, who are accustomed to every convenience of life. If it is cold and disagreeable, and the tavern crowded to overflowing, they become at once discouraged.

Three or four other parties came from the East during the first season, about seven hundred and fifty persons in all. These were by no means all who came. Immigrants came singly or in groups from different parts of the country. A number of prominent Free-State men were on the ground when the first party from Boston arrived. On the other hand, several of those who came in these parties became disgusted when they saw the true situation. This was especially true of the third party, who arrived early in October. The movement by this time had attracted wide attention, and the colonists had sent back glowing accounts of the country. These accounts were interpreted by a vivid imagination, and a number of soft-slipped people such as they would call "tenderfeet" in Colorado, enlisted, who expected to find an earthly paradise. When they came and found only a few tents and a few thatched hovels, their disgust knew no bounds. They were looking for hotels with all the modern conveniences, and expecting to find good positions waiting for them in large business establishments. After exhausting their vocabulary in denouncing the leaders who had "deceived them" and induced them to come to such a barbarous place, and the people of Lawrence for not providing for them in a more appropriate way, they turned on their heels and "went back to their folks."—*Rev. Richard Cordley, in his History of Lawrence.*

[*Free State*, March 3, 1856.]—MR. EDITOR: No true-hearted Western man who has noticed the course of policy pursued by the *Herald of Freedom* in regard to matters concerning Kansas, can look upon that paper as representing the true interests of the people of Kansas. But on the other hand its line of policy is calculated not only to divide politically, but socially the people of this Territory and create a feeling that will not be shortly obliterated. One who knows nothing more of the Territory than what he learns from the *Herald* would readily suppose that there was no one here but the Eastern immigrants, with a few Pro-Slavery men from Missouri and other Southern States, and all that has been done here in Kansas towards settlement and improvement has been done by the Eastern settlers who are here, and that if Kansas is made a free State that the East must have all the glory herself. Now, sir, any person that knows anything of Kansas, knows that five out of six of the inhabitants of Kansas are from the Western States, and four-fifths of them are Free-State men, and are opposed to the Eastern Emigrant Aid Company, from the fact they look upon it as the primary cause of our troubles. Now I think it obvious to any man that will view the thing impartially that we could have done as well without the Aid Company as with it, from the fact that Nebraska, with-

out any such institution, is going ahead of us in almost everything; yet Kansas has all the natural advantages. Now, sir, I, as a Western man do not feel that it is right that we lie still in the matter, and either be misrepresented or not be represented at all. It is time for us to speak out, and let the facts in the case be known. If we do, I think it will shortly appear to the "world, and the rest of mankind," that there are others here who are not exactly from the wooden-nutmeg State.

A WESTERN MAN.

I made a short quotation from Rev. Richard Cordley's excellent History of Lawrence. I had no thought of getting Dr. Cordley a generous allowance of G. W. Brown's billingsgate, though that was the result. It is a strong proof of the intolerance of the conspiracy. Here is a man generally recognized as of more than average ability and of unquestioned integrity. He is charged with ignorance, and even his honesty is questioned; he is soundly abused. It may be that the known antagonism of G. W. Brown and Robinson to ministers generally is responsible for it; their "religion" was a mixture of spiritualism and free-love if their actions are to be taken as an interpretation of it. The quotation which brought Dr. Cordley such a drubbing is as follows, and my comment as published in my *John Brown* is given also:

"Then it is impossible to do justice to all the actors engaged. The movement that saved Kansas was of the people, rather than of the leaders. There were leaders, but they were leaders chiefly because they went before. They did not create the movement, nor the sentiment out of which it grew. The people moved toward Kansas of their own impulse. They did not go at the beck of any man. They followed certain men because they were going their way. If all the leaders had failed them they would have chosen others and gone on. They were moved by individual conviction and a common impulse. Men and women who have never been heard of displayed a spirit of self-sacrifice and heroism as worthy of remembrance as anything history records of noted names. No history can do honor to all who deserve it."—*History of Lawrence, Rev. Richard Cordley, p. iii, Preface.*

The above quotation from the excellent work of Dr. Cordley is the best statement of the cause actuating people to come to Kansas that has ever been written. It states the exact truth, and refutes completely the impression

sought to be conveyed by Eli Thayer in his *The Kansas Crusade*, that the peopling of Kansas was largely the work of the Emigrant Aid Company. It is estimated that at the end of 1854 there were eight thousand Free-State settlers in Kansas. Of these, Mr. Thayer admits that but five hundred were on the rolls of the Emigrant Aid Company; but he impliedly and with remarkable procacity, claims them all. The claim that the Emigrant Aid Company either peopled or saved Kansas is preposterous and ridiculous. It was one of the many agencies that accomplished that great work. Its services were valuable; they have been and always will be recognized. Dr. Cordley leaves little to be said on this point.

For Mr. Thayer's claims, see his book, *The Kansas Crusade*; and for this particular matter, see page 54. The book is a very valuable contribution to Kansas history, but it is written with that pompous self-importance uppermost in the mind of the author, which detracts from candor.

EMIGRANT AID COMPANY—OPINIONS OF THE TERRITORIAL PRESS IN 1855.

The following extracts are from the *Kansas Free State*, and are given to show what Western emigrants and Western men thought of the operations of the Emigrant Aid Company. The quotations given make up the most accurate account of the operations of the Company and the feeling towards it I have found. The *Herald of Freedom* contains many articles in praise of the Company, but as it is now known that it was the organ of the Company, its expressions cannot be accepted as impartial.

The editors of the *Free State* were on the ground, and being conservative men and not opposed to the Company, their judgment may be considered deliberate and accurate. But it may be confidently expected that the Robinson estate or influence will attempt to blacken their characters, perhaps through G. W. Brown. Already a letter has been received by the Secretary of the State Historical Society saying Mr. Elliott was never a "holy man."

[*Free State*, Jan. 24, 1855.]—At a "Territorial Indignation Meeting" it was declared as a part of a preamble, that: "Be it known that the talisman, C. Robinson, or in justice termed the false Belshazzar, has, on former occasions, declared that if not by law, he has the right to cut timber on men's claims—that he should by force, without respect to the occupant of the claim, which he has done from time to time by armed men; in bands from eight to ten in number, committing their daily thefts, under whose instructions they affirm that the emissary of crime bid them go, whose fell spirit no human means can reach with those fraternal affections untouched by former dishonest acts, not obscure to us."

C. W. Babcock supported this. J. A. Wakefield was chairman of the meeting. Babcock charged that "the Emigrant Aid Company of Boston is a swindle upon the public. The principal object of those concerned, being that of making a grand land speculation under the guise of making Kansas a free State."

[*Free State*, Jan. 31, 1855.]—"I am glad for your word in reference to the E. A. Company; I regard it as a curse to the Territory, and have no doubt that all our affairs would be far more successfully conducted without than with that company. If men would succeed in making Kansas a free State, they must eschew all aid based merely upon pecuniary considerations. The E. A. Company has, by its constant appeals to the acquisitiveness of the Eastern people, induced many persons to come here for the sole purpose of speculation."

[*Free State*, Feb. 7, 1855.]—There are some grounds for the allusion to white slaves, as there never were any slaves at the South who served their masters more faithfully than do a few of the Eastern immigrants the agents of the Company. It is so very palpable that anyone besides the citizens of Douglas can see it. As an instance of this servitude, we notice one fact. We spoke in our first number of the agent, Dr. C. Robinson, having disappointed us in regard to lumber. Just as soon as our paper was issued, several of them being subscribers, upon noticing our allusion to the agent, stopped their papers immediately, supposing that this would forever crush us.

[*Free State*, April 7, 1855.]—And there were a good many Free-State men who did not vote at all, and there were from seventy-five to one hundred Eastern immigrants, just arrived, who voted the Free-State ticket. This we tried to prevent, but could not, as the Pro-Slavery imported voters use this as their great argument, that if Eastern persons have a right to come in

just before the election and vote, persons of other States have also the same right.

[*Free State*, April 30, 1855.]—The tide of immigration continues to flow into the Territory. A great portion of that which is permanent is from the Western States. They come with good teams and wagons, seeds and agricultural implements all ready to go to work, being principally from the States of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Wisconsin, Iowa, and Missouri—men who are used to “moving,” and consider it no great work. When they arrive with all their families, teams, cattle, etc., there is but little danger of their returning, the homesick fever passes off, after which they are very well contented. In this respect they differ from the immigration from east of Ohio, which comes principally by public conveyances, and many without their families, and upon arriving here or elsewhere in the Territory, and not finding everything as their fertile imagination had conceived beforehand, they get homesick, and not being accustomed to such expeditions, and being unincumbered, forthwith take the back track for their homes in the States. These men will of course carry back a bad tale, and will no doubt have great influence in retarding immigration.

[*Free State*, Aug. 13, 1855.]—We had a very interesting conversation with a Pro-Slavery man the other day; in which we learned it was the design of the Legislature to fix the time for the election of Delegate to Congress about the 20th of September next; that is, after they had time to get their counties organized, the board of commissioners and other county officers all appointed. It is the design then to organize the militia of the Territory and arm them with 2137 muskets to which the Territory is entitled from the General Government. These guns are to be used by men who will enforce all the enactments of the present Legislature. They are now preparing for the guns so that they may be in readiness at the next election for Delegate, as their imported voters are expecting some excitement on that occasion. We inquired why they assumed the defensive to an extent. He replied that so long as the Aid Company had \$5,000,000 of money at work in the Territory for the purpose of preventing the introduction of slavery, that it was necessary for them to strain every nerve when they had the upper hand, hence they were thoroughly organized, and they taxed every Pro-Slavery man from \$10 to \$50, according to his means, in order to promote the interests of their cause. We replied that they should not fear the funds of the Aid Company, as they were not able to build a hotel in Lawrence worth \$6000. “That may be all true enough,” he replied, “but it affords

us a very good club with which to beat them over the head, and from this fact we are bound to make Kansas a slave State, as the whole South are interested in our behalf, and are sending us aid."

[*Free State*, Feb. 7, 1855.]—There are times and places when the affection for the neighborhood or clique absorbs all the affections, and will not enable one to regard anyone outside of a certain sphere. This is a trait that characterizes a number of the Eastern immigrants of this place. They come to Kansas for the purpose of instructing the Western people how to build up a model New England State. They are advised, from headquarters, to avoid the use of all Western vulgarisms, and cherish their New England habits and customs. They hear and conceive a great many tales about Western life and manners. They like the Emigrant Aid Company because it sends out a large body of New-Englanders, so they can have their own society, etc. They work themselves into a belief that Western men, and especially Missourians, are of an inferior order of people, unfit for social intercourse; and unless a man agrees with them in all their peculiar notions about building up a model State, he is charged as a "Missourian"—as this is the worst epithet, in their opinion, they can apply to anyone they dislike.

We would now sincerely advise these *wise* men of the East of the fact that the great majority of the settlers of Kansas are now and will be Western men. We understand from C. W. Babcock, Esq., who is taking the census, that there are more Illinois settlers in this district than there are New-Englanders altogether.

This being the case, these *refined* gentlemen may just as well make up their minds at once to consider Western men as human beings, and conclude to associate with them; as it is utterly impossible for Massachusetts or New England to settle Kansas, though the Aid Company may have made them believe it. They will have but a small share in making a model State or in framing its free institutions. A great many who came out under the auspices of the Company are too selfish and clannish to effect anything in Kansas.

[*Free State*, April 7, 1855.]—We observe the Northern press begins already to speak of the vast number who are coming to Kansas. One paper knows of a company of 2000, and the other, companies of hundreds and thousands. Editors of Northern papers should once pause and reflect. You played a miserable game on us last summer by boasting of the immense emigration to Kansas,—a game that resulted in giving us a Pro-Slavery

Delegate in Congress, and recently the election of nearly an entire Pro-Slavery Legislature; all done by imported votes. And not only this, but the helpless Free-State settlers of the Territory have been disfranchised, and, in some instances, driven from the polls. But now since you have commenced the contest, you will have to fight it out.

[*Free State*, May 14, 1855.]—Every day adds largely to the number of new arrivals, and we are happy to see among the immigrants not a few of our old friends and acquaintances. A large proportion of those who have arrived are here not only on their own account, but also on the behalf of others who design emigrating should they give a favorable report of the country. Almost every portion of the Union has representation in the daily arrivals, and every week appears to increase the numbers. The character of the immigration is in the main much different to that which we have been accustomed in this place. They have generally anticipated, and prepared for the hardships of pioneer life, and manifest a greater spirit of content and determination to “try the country” for themselves, than was prevalent among those who paid a hasty visit in the early spring. They do not come heralded by trumpets and their movements announced by every paper in the North, and introduce themselves as the long-looked-for party who are to give tone and character to Kansas, but still they do come; they come prepared, and determined to stay and to work.

[*Free State*, Jan. 3, 1855.]—These descriptions, and the undue excitement created and nurtured by aid societies, have thrown upon us many who were inexperienced in pioneer life, and unwilling to endure the privations and hardships which they found connected with the settlement of a new country. . . . On the other hand, those who have had experience in pioneer life regard their trials here as light, compared with those of the first settlers of other States.

[*Free State*, July 9, 1855.]—Our position in regard to this company is somewhat like the editor of the *National Era* and the Know-Nothings, and like him, besides our subscriptions suffering some, we have had heaped upon us a good deal of personal abuse for daring to say anything about the infallible organization. We see in Boston papers accounts of the wonderful things this Company has done for the cause of Freedom in Kansas.

But we are sorry to see Gen. Pomeroy, being a good Free-State man, suffer his devotion to that Company to cause him to indulge in gross and awful misrepresentations. In a letter to the *New York Tribune*, he says:

“Undeterred meanwhile, the Emigrant Aid Company has laid the foun-

dations of eight towns, established in them mills and other appliances of which the settlers stand in need, collected in them qualified voters from the free States who mean to make a free State in Kansas, and, in one word, created the only centers of opinion which there are in the Territory. . . .

"We repeat the statement, that there are in Kansas at the present moment, eight centers and eight only, which deserve the name of towns: Lawrence, Topeka, Pawnee, Boston, Osawatomie, Grasshopper Falls, are six of these; of the names of the two others we are not informed. These eight points are settled with the advice and assistance of the Emigrant Aid Company. Its mills are at work in them. The emigrants who have gone forward under its auspices are building them. There is not another center of influence or trade in Kansas."

Any man who cares anything about his reputation for veracity should be very sorry to state that these were the only centers of opinion in Kansas. Leavenworth is the first town in point of trade and improvement in the Territory, and a majority of its citizens are sound Free-State men. Council City, Atchison, Kickapoo, Indianola, Martinsburg, and ten other towns, all contain a good proportion of Free-State votes and are as much centers of opinion as five of the places mentioned, and the two that no one else, as well as the General, ever heard of. True, some of the towns are on the Missouri river, and thus more exposed to the incursions of the barbarians, and of course the Free-State men were in a measure stifled, yet they are still there, sound, reliable men, doing a good work. Query: Why did not the Aid Company found a few towns on the Missouri river? The sites are eligible, the very thresholds of the Territory, and navigation almost constant.

Let justice be done to all. Many other good Free-State men have accomplished a great deal in building up towns and promoting the interests of Kansas as well as those of the Aid Company. Osawatomie was founded by a gentleman, O. C. Brown, of Utica, New York. The General, as agent of the Aid Company, may have visited these eight points and sketched towns in his mind's eye, but made no further improvement, except locating a mill at two of the places, Lawrence and Topeka, mills that have done no good whatever as yet. As to so much being done for the settlers at these eight centers of light, is all a humbug. The mill here has been a perfect nuisance. The hotel, which has been building ever since the Company had an existence, still lingers. It is now up one story, the work having stopped, and the contractor has taken his hands off, not being able to get his pay, and of course cannot go on with the work.

The mill and the hotel are all they have attempted here, and they have done nothing at the other points. This hotel being delayed thus, has been more injury to the place than all other things combined. Hundreds of per-

sons have left our place for the want of a comfortable place to stop at. Yet the Company will neither do anything itself, nor give up the work to individuals who would put it up immediately. We think that this powerful Company has scared the citizens of Lawrence into acquiescence, silence and submission long enough. If you have any regard for your own pecuniary interests, you will no longer submit to their tantalizing humbugging operations. Let us have a hotel ready for the reception of the immense immigration that will pour in here in the fall. It is suicidal for us to depend on the Aid Company doing anything for Lawrence, or for any other point in Kansas Territory.

[*Free State*, March 3, 1855.]—As many are inquisitive as to the real contest in Kansas, we trespass upon the time of our readers once more in noticing this subject.

For a long series of years prior to the passage of the Nebraska Bill everything was quiet, and every one supposed the great question of slavery was forever settled in all that territory acquired from France, known as the Louisiana Purchase, north of $36^{\circ} 30'$. Iowa was organized and came in as a flourishing State; in connection with which not one word was said in relation to slavery. Minnesota also organized out of this territory, and is now well-nigh a State. No one thought of the repeal of the Missouri Compromise all this while. But when it became necessary to organize Kansas, it must be repealed, though it should require the sacrifice of the whole Democratic party. The compromise which forever prohibited slavery north of $36^{\circ} 30'$ is repealed. We, though not approving it, as law-abiding men determined to stand on the act and carry out its provisions, at the same time doing all in our power to make Kansas free, notwithstanding all the disadvantages the repeal might give us in the contest.

But when the bill passed, the news startled a great majority of the Northern men — the groans of departing slaves, chains, shackles, negro whips and bloodhounds, were all distinctly seen and heard on the beautiful plains of Kansas.

About this time the enterprising geniuses of the East were eager for a new field in which to operate,—conceived a magnificent plan by which to make Kansas, not a pioneer, but all on a sudden a model New England free State. At first applies for a charter, and then refuses to act under it; speaks of contracting with the various railroads for the conveyance of 20,000 to Kansas last fall; that a vast amount of machinery would be taken out; also a printing-press from which a paper would be issued, being the organ of the agents, would be instrumental in encouraging emigration, etc.

That as an inducement to emigrate, large settlements would be formed, from which other settlements would radiate, and thus property would suddenly become valuable, etc. The result was that many of the mammoth newspapers of the cities, eager for news, noticed as the most gigantic enterprise of the age, the "New England Emigrant Aid Society"; that this association, having \$5,000,000 of capital, was about conveying 20,000 or 30,000 persons to Kansas last fall; that they were going to build up a powerful model State in a short time; and having finished Kansas, they intended continuing their efforts by building a fortress of such States from Nebraska to the Gulf of Mexico.

Such being heralded forth weekly, many were of the opinion that so far as slavery in Kansas was concerned, everything was safe.

At first, the strongest hearts and most enthusiastic slaveholders were appalled, and thought it useless to attempt doing anything more than vent their indignation in a few violent resolutions. But when they began to witness the abortive attempt of said society in settling Kansas — when they saw 20,000 dwindle down to two or three hundred — when they saw all the vast machinery of the Company amount to nothing but an old wornout saw-mill, that has been a great deal more injury to the settlement than benefit, they took courage, and concluded at once that all this blow about settling Kansas, and making it free, was only so much Northern gas.

Very soon there is an organized effort in Missouri and throughout the South for the purpose of secretly but effectively throwing a great many Pro-Slavery men into Kansas. This they have done and are now doing, as they say, through self-defense, and for the purpose of more thoroughly counteracting the efforts of the Aid Society in abolitionizing the Territory.

This being the state of things here, the great contest is now for victory — for the triumph. The Pro-Slavery party wish to beat the aid societies at their own game of settling Kansas. The New England Emigrant Aid Company, being so far a signal failure, has greatly encouraged the friends of slavery; and while the Free-State men of the States are waiting to see what will be the result, the Pro-Slavery party are powerfully at work shaping its institutions to suit their views.

Had there been no effort made to stimulate emigration, but every one left to pursue his own course in the matter of settling Kansas, the great influx of free labor would have secured it forever to freedom.

[*Free State*, March 3, 1855.]—Nothing connected with the settling of any of the Territories has attracted so much of the public attention, as the New England Aid Society. Many of the newspapers have noticed the

Society and its organ, the *Herald*, in such a way that all the reading press in the United States have heard of it. The result is that many are inquisitive of us as to its operations, numbers, influence, and character. We know not why it is that we are inquired of, unless it be that we are considered unconnected with it, and are therefore in a better condition to speak impartially of it.

We have spoken in another column of the paper as to the original policy of the Company, viz., that it was gotten up with the ostensible purpose of making Kansas a free State. It has been charged with designs of speculating in real estate in the Territory.

Whether this is so or not we will not pretend to say. We know that one-fourth of the lots in Lawrence have been set apart for the Company, and that its Secretary states, as an inducement for persons to take stock, that any investment which they might make in Kansas would suddenly become valuable; that even their property in one locality would declare a large dividend to the Company.

No one has as yet made anything by speculating in lands in Kansas. We will not vouch for this as to the future. Every man knows that the Company does not originate in a section in which men are disposed to enlist in such enterprises without some assurance of a compensation for the time and money employed.

Various views exist as to the Company. While many of the Eastern papers regard the Company as the great deathblow to slavery, nearly all here, except a few who are connected with it, consider it as productive of the greatest injury to the cause of Freedom in Kansas.

We have seen a number of very flattering articles in the papers in regard to this company, but none are now handy except the following from the *Progressive Age*, of Bath, Maine. Speaking of land investments in Kansas, it says:

"Now, as to the remuneration for the expenses incurred. This remuneration is obtained in the rise and fall of real estate. In those localities where villages and cities spring up almost by the touch of enchantment, the rise in real estate is very great. The price to be paid to the Government, when surveyed, is one dollar and twenty-five cents per acre. The same becomes in a single year worth many hundreds. In this rise the Company are the sharers. They receive a part; the remainder belongs to the original settlers as tenants in common. The city of Lawrence, which is a town not six months old, is a striking example of the workings of the new theory. Its first settlers arrived in the latter part of July last. It now contains a population of near 600, and upwards of 100 residences, of rude construction, it is true; a steam saw-mill, turning out its three or four thousand feet of

lumber daily; there are also a number of boarding-houses, two stores, and several others about opening; three printing-offices, issuing three anti-slavery papers weekly, one of which is the *Herald of Freedom*, is nearly as large as the largest in the State; and an athenæum, in which a course of lectures on various scientific subjects are actually being given. The land on which it stands, and which will not be surveyed by the Government for some time, has already risen in value to much more than enough to pay the whole expense of the Company in planting the colony.

"While this excellent institution is thus opening one of the grandest schemes of emigration, in which the refinements of civilization follow close on the track of the emigrant, and take up their abode by his side in the wilderness, and thus connect him back with scenes of social life he has left, it is doing a far greater work for human freedom. It is placing impregnable fortresses throughout the debatable land against which the forces of human slavery may battle in vain. If a single individual in the South, or a single publication, immediately sets the whole system with vibrations, what crushing weight would a few cities, even like Lawrence, with her *Herald of Freedom*, her free schools and churches; above all, her intelligent, determined free men, have upon slavery in its incipient stages? We leave our readers to guess.

"No movement of the North has attracted so much attention and aroused up the feelings of the South to the degree of her peculiar institution, as this Emigrant Aid Society."

It can be seen in this intimation how the company will be remunerated. If the "city of Lawrence is a striking example of the workings of this new theory," we hope we shall see no more of the workings. They have settled here on the legal claims of others, and it is true lots and "city interests" have sold high, but every one can judge as to the legality of such method of getting money. As to the saw-mill, about which so much has been said, it has been a greater drawback to the settlement of this place than all other things together. It has not cut three thousand feet per week. Had not every one supposed that the Company was going to establish some of its "six mills" in Lawrence, private enterprises would have long since put up at least two here. But as it is, all depend on the Company's mill, which has done no good whatever, and it is no use for the *Herald* and letter-writers to smooth this matter over, and make the people in the States, and those unacquainted with the facts, believe that this mill has been a powerful instrument in building up this place. The fact is, that the Company with its boast of \$5,000,000, has scared off private enterprises, and have accomplished nothing for the settlement itself.

While we admire the pretended motive of this Company, we have the most supreme contempt for the wisdom displayed in the execution of its designs.

Its every movement, from its origin to the present, exhibits a shallow insight into human nature. It has no appreciation of the mainsprings by which the masses are moved. Everything we see published in regard to the Company contains a few sentences as to the great "civilization and refinement, schools, churches," that the Company is going to introduce into the Territory.

Western men and Southern men have become tired hearing the intimations that none of these things can come from any other quarter except the East. Taken in connection with the fact that the Company has done nothing towards the settling of Kansas, has caused the great majority to lose confidence in the operations. So much is this the case, that though the Eastern papers are frequently noticing that the *Herald of Freedom* is the Company's organ, its editor and his friends deny bitterly that the *Herald* has any connection whatever with the Company. Its friends in the Territory knew well the bad policy and ruinous effect this boasting of the civilization and refinement, morals, schools, churches, and a "printing-press which would be the organ of the agent," would all have, which it was going to introduce in Kansas, and now they wish to get out of the predicament the best way they can, by denying these facts that are too well established for sensible men to contradict. Honor the many conservative articles we see in the *Herald*.

There are about 300 or 400 persons in the Territory, who came out under the auspices of this Company. A great majority of them are very good citizens, and feel somewhat deceived as to the Company's operations. One old saw-mill, which sometimes saws and most of the time does not, a printing-press (but not a steam press), and this is the sum total of the Company's operations in Kansas.

So far from its having the effect that the *Age* intimates, it has as yet done more to extend slavery than even the repeal of the Missouri Compromise itself.



